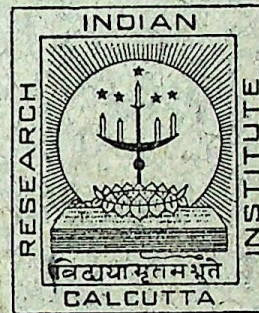


BARHUT

BOOK I

STONE AS A STORY-TELLER



BY
BENIMADHAB BARUA, M. A., D. LIT. (LOND.)
Professor, University of Calcutta.

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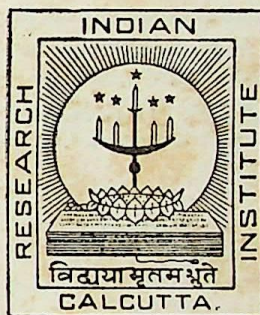
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BARHUT

BOOK I

STONE AS A STORY-TELLER



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BY

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OF

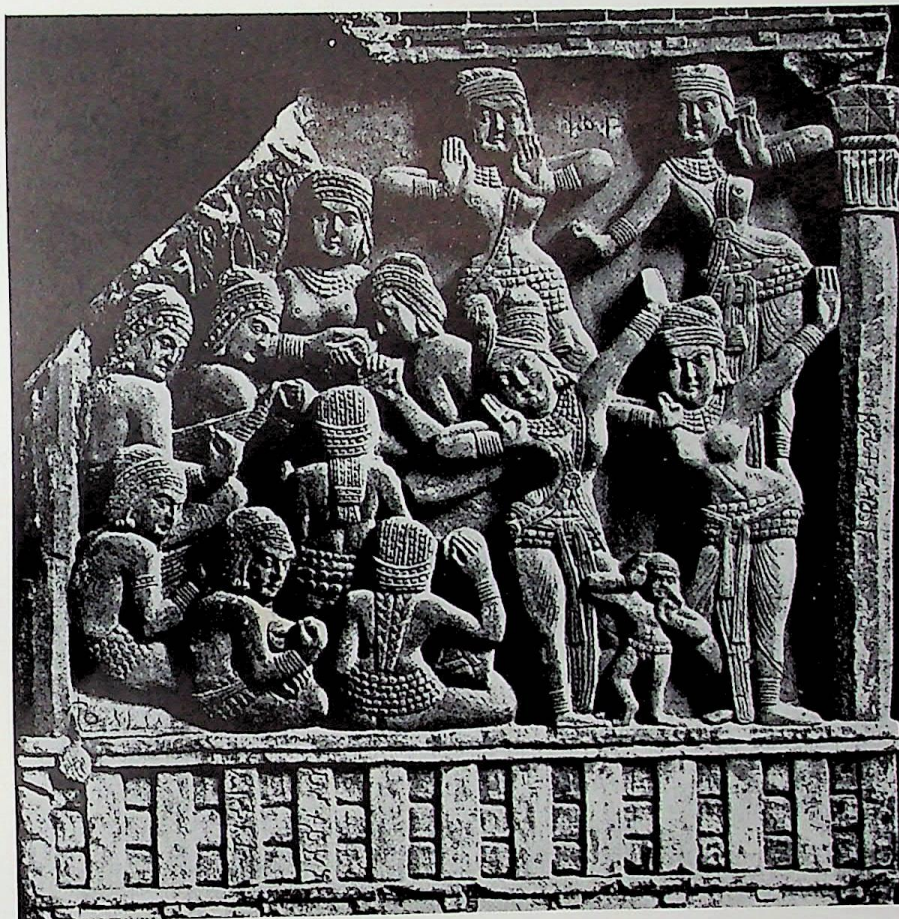
Dr. B. C. LAW

—a distinguished Scholar and Patron of Buddhistic
Studies in India at whose instance this work
was undertaken and under whose
genial care it developed.



The Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni





SADIKAM SAMMADAM TURAM DEVANAM

—A Divine Opera

—A Forecast of the Birth of the Bodhisattva

PREFACE

The illustrated monograph which is being offered to the public was completed about a decade back, and I cannot but feel a sense of relief to see it in print. According to the original plan, the monograph was to be brought out in one volume comprising five books, Bk. I dealing with the Barhut Stone as a Story-Teller, Bk. II with the Barhut Inscriptions, Bk. III with the Bas-Reliefs, Bk. IV with Art and Architecture, and Bk. V containing the Plates. This plan had to be partly given up when the late lamented Sir Asutosh Mookerjee arranged to get the Book of Inscriptions separately printed and published by the University of Calcutta. By this judicious step on his part, I could reap a twofold advantage : first, in seeing the Book of Inscriptions immediately printed and published, and secondly, in reducing the bulk of the whole monograph to a handy form. The inclusion of this particular book, as Sir Asutosh had then apprehended, would have made the publication unwieldy and marred the effect of the remaining books by its palæographical and philological technicalities that are of little importance to general readers interested only in the study of ancient monuments with their art and iconography. All that they may be interested to know of the Book of Inscriptions has been cautiously presented in Book I. The delay in publication of the remaining Books has proved of this much advantage that it has enabled me to set in order the whole Barhut scheme of Jātakas in the light of the corrections noted in the Book of Inscriptions.

As the plan now stands, the present monograph comprises three books, Bk. I—Barhut Stone As A Story-Teller, Bk. II—Barhut Jātaka-Scenes, and Bk. III—Barhut Art and Illustrations.

While I leave the monograph in its present form to speak for itself, I have to mention that I am deeply indebted to Dr. B. C. Law, M. A., Ph. D., not only for his liberal financial help, without which the very idea of undertaking such an arduous task as this would have been nipped in the bud and I could not have ventured to print even the reading portion of the work, but also for repeatedly urging me to undertake the task as one of paramount importance. Since its inception he watched the progress of the work with a keen personal interest.

Lastly, it is a matter of pride to me that the Indian Research Institute which stands for the propagation of Indian culture in a wider sense of the term has taken up the publication of the monograph as the first number of its Fine Arts Series.

Calcutta University, }
January, 1934. }

B. M. BARUA

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Indian Research Institute, founded in Calcutta in July 1932 to propagate and resuscitate Ancient Indian Culture and Wisdom by the publication of critical editions of Texts and Commentaries with Translations in Indian and European languages and original researches connected therewith, is now presenting to the reading public an illustrated monograph on the Stūpa of Barhut, its Railings and Gateways prepared by Dr. B. M. Barua of the Calcutta University. With this as the first number, the Institute starts the Fine Arts Series along with the Vedic which is now in progress. The Fine Arts Series has been started in response to a pressing demand for it from some of the enlightened Indian Princes on whose munificence and liberal donations will greatly depend the success of a costly undertaking of this kind.

Since the first discovery of the Stūpa of Barhut in 1873 and the publication of an illustrated monograph on the subject in 1876 by General Sir Alexander Cunningham, the great ancient monument and its remains have engaged the serious attention of a large number of Indologists who have tried to bring the study of Barhut to a perfection. But their attempts were one-sided, piece-meal, and detached, while this monograph embodies the richest results of a gigantic effort made to deal with the subject in all its aspects, completing the work of identification of the bas-reliefs, almost half the number of which remained unidentified, reproducing all the sculptures that now survive, establishing a correct interpretation of the inscribed labels, both Votive and Jātaka, indicating their full historical bearings,—in short, drawing up a monumental pen-picture of the whole of Indian life as represented in the Barhut plastic art.

In order of chronology, the Barhut architecture and sculptures come after two earlier landmarks, namely, those represented by the finds at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro—the two ancient buried cities of the Indus Valley and the lingering remains of the Maurya art. The Barhut carvings excel all later Buddhist sculptures in meaning, if not in comprehensiveness. The Institute is interested to offer Dr. Barua's monograph 'as a boon to a man in the street' and no less as a specimen of modern painstaking researches that remain yet to be done in the domain of Ancient Indian Art and Iconography.

Indian Research Institute,
January, 1934.

SATIS CHANDRA SEAL

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ERRATA

- P. 2. l. 17.—Read Stūpa for Sūpa.
P. 33. l. 12.— „ north for south.
P. 58. l. 9.— „ Jetavana for Jatavana.
P. 58. l. 12.— „ notable for notabla.
P. 58. l. 29.— „ Dharmachakra for Dharmochakra.

BARHUT

BOOK I

STONE AS A STORY-TELLER

1. Particulars of the Story-Teller :—Here the Story-Teller is a piece of Indian stone-railing, which formerly surrounded the Buddhist Stūpa at Barhut.¹ Another local name of the village of Barhut is Bhaironpur. The remains of the great Stūpa were first discovered by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in November, 1873, when portions of two gateways, with the included quarter of the circular Inner Railing, were still in situ, nearly all thrown down and buried under a mound of rubbish. On his second visit in February, 1874, he succeeded in uncovering the whole quadrant of the buried Railing. The work of excavation, taken up by his able assistant Mr. J. D. Beglar in the beginning of March and continued for a month, resulted in many important discoveries, which were photographed as these were found. Subsequently he visited the site twice, each time accompanied by Mr. Beglar. During his visit in November, 1874, he made a complete exploration of the mound of ruins, systematically photographing all the sculptures. Broken bricks and pieces of pottery were discovered on a ground covering $1\frac{1}{2}$ square miles or even a little larger area. Pieces of carved stones from the great Railing were then found scattered in some of the surrounding large villages for seven miles around, Uchahara, Batanmara, Pathora or Pataora, and Madhogarh or Patharhat. His last visit in 1876 enabled him to discover the remains of the corner pillar of one of the missing gateways together with several fragments. He began to write his instructive account of the unearthed buried treasures in 1874, and completed it in 1876. In the latter year, in spite of utilitarian vandalism attending the idea, the precious remains of the Stone-henge were carted away for their removal to a place of safety in Calcutta, where these were exhibited in the Indian Museum, there they forming an imposing sight within the "Bharhut Gallery." He gladly accepted the idea of

¹ The correct spelling of the modern name of the site is not yet settled beyond dispute. Late Prof. Rhys Davids suggested Bharahata, while Hultzsch and Luders have adopted Bharaut. Prof. Haraprasad Shastri tells us that the local people call it Berhut. But a letter received from a local gentleman confirms the correctness of the spelling Barhut or Bharhut. The late Diwan of Rewa told Dr. Vincent A. Smith that the correct spelling is Barhut. See Asoka, 3rd edition, p. 114, f. n. 1.

removal as a far lesser evil than leaving the lingering remains at the mercy of the villagers who were carting these away for building purposes. His compendious and well-illustrated monograph, the *Stūpa of Bharhut*, was published three years later, in 1879, by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Rev. Subhuti, a learned Buddhist monk of Ceylon, helped him considerably with suggestions about identification of subject of the sculptures with the Pāli Legends of the Buddha.

2. Ruinous condition of the Stupa :—The Barhut Stūpa which is now a mound of ruins,¹ was in former times a mound of bricks, embosoming the steatite-box or relic-casket, deposited inside. Cunningham was told that a small box (*ḍibiyā*) was found in the middle of the brick-mound, and handed over to the Raja of Nagod. This must have been a Relic-casket, which, even if it was found out, must now be taken as lost. This being missing, it is impossible to say whether its contents were the relics of the Buddha or those of a deceased great Disciple,—of a Good Man (*Sapurisa*), as he would be honoured in the Sanchi and Sonari Stūpa-inscriptions. The remnants of the Stūpa are too meagre to justify big guesses about its shape or size. But as might be inferred from the designs of sūpas on the existing Railing and E. Gateway,² the Barhut builders had before them the model of a solid structure, with a hemispherical dome, supported upon a cylindrical base and crowned by one or more large stone-umbrellas, with streamers and garlands, hanging from the rim. The umbrella itself was set upon a square platform or plinth, with a small stone-railing or *hti* ornamenting it on the top of the hemisphere. The surface of the dome was ornamented with an intertwined floral design of a double chain-work, containing in its undulating folds some large flowers, suspended from long stalks, hanging forth from the top. The hemisphere, with the crowning construction and other paraphernalia, must have a shape resembling the bell. Our Stūpa must have evolved from a parent form of primitive tumulus. Apart from the exigency of the peculiar building design, the idea of the dome may have been suggested by the shape of the visible universe, consisting of a vaulted canopy, resting on a circular horizon of the earth.³ The cylindrical base of our Stūpa was ornamented with several rows of small recesses for lights. The triangular forms of such recesses in each row must have presented three lines of lights. Indeed, the arrangement of rows and recesses indicates that the illumination could not but have taken the form of a diamond-shaped network. The sides of each recess, as conjectured by Cunningham, were formed in two steps, each holding five lights. The recesses were nearly $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad at top and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches at bottom, and from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 inches apart, there being

¹ Scene No. 3 ² Scenes Nos. 13, 23 (h), 25 (c), 54—55. ³ Scene No. 1.

120 recesses in the whole circumference, and 600 lights in each row. From the mound of ruins one can yet collect several specimens of bricks of varying size and thickness, most of which are plain and square in shape, $12 \times 12 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, those of still larger size being from 5 to 6 inches in thickness. There are many old Indian treatises, the *Sulva-Sūtras*, in which various patterns of bricks are named and classified. There is evidence to prove that brick-built houses (*gīṇjakāvasatha*) were well-known in the Buddha's time, while the discoveries made at the two buried cities of Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro clearly prove that bricks were abundantly in use as building materials so early in India as 3000 B. C. The diameter of the Stūpa was at least 62 feet and 6 inches, giving an interior diameter of 88 feet and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches for the stone-railing enclosing it.

3. Composition of Inner Railing :—Our story-teller is the famous Inner Railing which was a circular structure, with four openings on four sides. At each opening there was a gate (*dvāra*) or an arched gateway (*torāṇa*). Thus the Railing was divided into four equal segments or quadrants. It was a composite of four distinct elements: (1) pillar (*thabha*)—the erect post, (2) underground plinth of pillars (*adhithāna*), (3) rail (*suchi*)—the needle or cross-bar, and (4) coping (*unisa*). Each quadrant of it was a strong network in stone, of sixteen pillars, needled by three rows of cross-bars, provided with a plinth at the base and covered at the top by a massive coping. The direct approach to the Stūpa was covered by a Return, which as a similar network was really an outward elongation of one extremity of each quadrant, consisting of four additional pillars and looking like the arm of an Indian Svastika or that of a Greek Cross. Each Return presented three pillars on each side, including the corner-pillar of the quadrant. Thus it can be shown that the entire Railing contained 80 pillars and 228 rails in all, 20 pillars and 57 rails in each quadrant and its outer extension. Barring the gateways and the Returns, the design of the Railing conformed to the model the Barhut artists had before them¹.

4. Remains of Outer Railing :—There was a second stone-railing of much smaller dimension than the Inner Railing. Its remains, discovered by Cunningham, consisted of two small pillars, four pieces of the curved stone-plinth, and no less than 10 specimens of the curved coping-stones. There must have been about 240 of the small pillars, and about 750 of the rail-bars, each of which was 18 inches long and 7 inches broad. Of the two pillars that now survive, one belonged to a corner position and the other to a middle place. Both of them are 2 feet 1 inch high and 7 inches

¹ Scene No. 2

broad. The plinth and the coping were each 7 inches in height. Thus the total height of the Outer Railing was 3 feet 3 inches. The corner pillar has a single human figure on each of the two outer faces, and the middle pillar, a similar figure on its outer face. The figures stand with joined hands, in an attitude of respectful devotion. We find that the figure on one of the faces of the corner pillar is Naravāhana, which is a point of resemblance with Kubera, figuring on the Inner Railing. The figure on the middle pillar resembles that of Ajakāla Yaksha of the Great Railing. The coping-stones that have been found are quite plain. Barring the isolated figures of Yakshas,¹ the Outer Railing appears to have been plain. This Railing enclosed the Inner Railing, quadrant by quadrant, each quadrant extending from the middle pillar in the arm of the Return, directly connected with the Inner Railing.²

5. Terraced Floor :—Between the magnificent Inner Railing and the Stūpa Cunningham also found a clear space of 10 feet 4 inches wide, affording the pilgrims a spacious ground for perambulation round the sacred mound. The whole of this space was covered with a thick flooring of lime-plaster, the outer edge of which was finished by a line of curved kerb-stones, cut exactly to the circumference of the inner circle of the Great Railing, and the pillars of this railing were set against the kerb-stones which just touched the diameter of the lower half medallions. A similar terraced floor could be seen for a width of several feet between the two railings.³

6. Votive Stupas and Brick Walls :—It is on the outer extension of the terraced floor that Cunningham detected traces of Brick Walls, as well as some Votive Stūpas of stone. These scattered foundations were no other than the plinths of small mounds and other objects.⁴

7. Flight of Steps :—On the western side of the Stūpa, Cunningham saw a solid stone ladder 3 feet 1 inch wide, consisting of seven steps of 10 inches. The height of the accumulated rubbish, from which the visitor had to descend into the area of the Stūpa Court, was not less than 6 feet. This Flight of Steps probably occupied the actual entrance between the two lines of railing, i. e., between the terminus of a Return of the Inner Railing and the end of a Quadrant of the Outer Railing standing opposite.⁵

8. Discovery of Gateways :—Of the four Gateways at four openings in the Inner Railing, that on the east has been restored almost completely. Each of its two lower pillars is a group of four octagons joined together, and none of them bears any sculptures. The untiring zeal of Cunningham enabled him to collect

¹ Scene No. 12. ² Scene No. 11. ³ Stupa of Bharhut, p. 12. ⁴ Ibid, p. 12. ⁵ Ibid, p. 13.

the piece of a Gateway-pillar from Pataora. The half of its face is cut away, and the remaining half is adorned with the representation of a continuous scene of the Great Renunciation¹. One of its sides bears in the upper half the figure of the hunter-goddess Mahākokā², and in the lower half an elephant walking ahead of the other. This elephant is seen carrying a long branch of a flower-tree grasped by a young elephant with its upraised trunk. A similar representation appears on the other side of the architrave. These sculptures correspond to those on the curved centre of the lower architrave of the E. Gateway.

9. Meaning of Torana³ :—In the dedicatory inscription on the E. Gateway as well as in a similar inscription on the fragment of each of two other Gateways, the donor says that he caused a Torana to be made and a stone-work produced. Did he mean by Torana the whole Gateway in each case, or is it that in some instances he meant the entire Gateway and in some just the upper part of it, i. e., the ornamented arch, added as a superstructure over the gate or door represented by two stone-pillars? This question is natural when we find that the lower pillars of the E. Gateway are each a group of four octagons, joined together, and none of them bears any sculptures whatsoever, while the pieces of two lower pillars of two missing Gateways have each a square shaft and bear the figures and Jātaka-scenes⁴ having a most intimate connexion with the general Barhut scheme of sculptures. If the whole of the E. Gateway be taken away or lost, no harm is done to the Barhut outline of the Buddha's life, but the removal of the other two Gateways means a serious gap in it. Keeping these points in view, we cannot but presume that as regards the E. Gateway, the donor must have meant the whole of it, and in the other two cases, only the ornamented arches⁵.

10. Location of Four Gateways :—The E. Gateway was erected on the east side of the Stūpa. The difficulty lies about ascertaining the relative position of two other Gateways, of which just two pieces of lower pillars now remain. One point is certain that their lower pillars had a square shaft. If we may suppose that the W. Gateway was of the same pattern as the Eastern, the pieces of pillars that have been found must have belonged to the Gateways on the north and the south, though it is impossible to ascertain which piece belonged to the N. Gateway and which to the southern. Dr. L. A. Waddell says, "The eastern gateway was certainly

¹ Scene No. 18. ² Scene No. 19. ³ Stupa of Bharhut, p. 8: "Toran is a well-known name at the present day for an ornamented archway as well as for the ornamental frames of wood which are placed over doors, and archways at the celebration of weddings. Some of these have a single horizontal bar, some two, and others three. In the wedding Torans the ornaments placed on the top are birds and flowers." ⁴ Scenes Nos. 18-19. ⁵ The views are slightly modified, see *passim* under Age.

not the main entrance, and indeed, from the location elsewhere of the inscribed images of the four guardian gods of the Quarters, this eastern gateway was probably not a part of the original investing structure at all."¹ According to him, the main gateway was the southern, at which three out of the four great guardians, were collected, namely, those of the south, east, and west; and over the southern was carved a miniature replica of the stūpa. "This position for the main entrance," he argues, "is explained by the topography of the site with reference to the old road and the adjoining stream-bed." "The second gate was on the north with the northern guardian Kupiro, i. e., Kubera, in charge. Such an allocation of these four guardians into two groups is the invariable rule in Buddhist buildings only where two gateways exist. It is thus almost certain that the eastern (also western) gateway was a later addition to the Stūpa-enclosure." Dr. Waddell's views about the Eastern and Western Gateways are quite sound. But the fact that three out of the four Guardians figure at the Southern Gateway is a mere conjecture. The truth is that only one Guardian, namely, Virūḍaka, figures there. The presence of a Stūpa as a symbol for the Buddha's Great Decease cannot be pressed as a valid argument, and that for this simple reason that such symbols can be seen on upper pillar of the E. Gateway, as well as on other parts of the Great Railing. The topographical argument is the only argument which deserves our serious consideration. But this does not certainly prove the greater importance of the S. Gateway. The utmost that we can say is that before the erection of the Eastern and Western Gateways, the Southern and Northern Gateways consisted each of two pillars with square shafts and without the ornamented arches. The east entrance was considered to be the main entrance. There are two stronger proofs of the importance of this entrance. The first of these can be deduced from a Votive inscription, and the second from a certain sculpture. In entering the Stūpa area by the south entrance, the pilgrim or visitor could not but be attracted by the pillar of a S. E. Quadrant of the Inner Railing, on his left hand side. The Votive inscription, incised upon it, distinctly refers to the gift as the First Pillar (Paṭhama-thabha).² The majesty of its outward form and the richness of its sculptures are sure to engage attention. The sculptures themselves represent only a scene of the royal procession, carrying the relic-casket to be deposited in our Stūpa.³

II. Arches of Four Gateways :—The construction of the lower parts, i. e., of the lower pillars of the four Gateways, was not uniform. The lower pillars of the

¹ Article on "Date of the Bharhut Stupa Sculptures" in J. R. A. S., 1914, pp. 138 foll. See also his article on "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult" in Asiatic Quarterly, 1912. ² Barua Sinha, No. 4. ³ Scene No. 17 (a)

N. and S. Gateways were each square in form. and bore on their faces and sides certain figures and scenes belonging to the general Barhut scheme. The lower pillars of the E. and W. Gateways, on the contrary, were each a group of four octagons, joined together. If all the Toraṇas or Arches, irrespective of lower pillars, were erections made by King Dhanabhūti, we have to inquire whether they were of the same pattern or of different patterns. Of the three horizontal beams in the Toraṇa of the E. Gateway, the upper one has been restored partly and the middle and lower ones almost completely.¹ The lower and middle beams are each composed of a curved centre and two outer ends composed of open-mouthed crocodiles with curled tails, the middle beams being distinguished from the lower figure of a bird that appears on the right side, on the roof of the mansions faced by the crocodile in the outer end.² The outer ends of the upper beam now survive. These and the outer ends of the lower beam show exactly the same composition. The outer side of the curved centre of the lower beam presents a procession of four elephants, of two on each side of it, bringing offerings of flowers to the Bodhi-Tree and Throne of the Buddha, represented in the middle with two human worshippers, one worshipping them on each side. The curved centre of the middle beam presents a similar procession of four leonine animals, bringing offering to a fictitious Bodhi-Tree and Throne. The sculpture, if there was any, on the curved centre of the upper beam, must have been the same as that on the lower architrave fragments that are preserved in the Indian Museum, one representing a right crocodile end, and the other, a curved centre. The presence of the figure of a bird indicates that the crocodile-end belonged to a middle beam, and the ornamentation on the curved centre shows that it belonged to a lower or an upper beam. We do not know whether these fragments are remnants of one arch or of two separate arches. But they certainly show that the arch or arches to which they belonged were constructed on a common pattern.

12. Ornamental Details on the Lower Beam :—The curved centre of the middle beam shows the same ornamental design and sculptural details on its two sides. The curved centre of the lower beam (and of the upper beam ex hypothesi) shows the same general design but not the same details. On its inner side we have a fine representation of Aśvattha, the Bodhi-Tree of Buddha Śākyamuni, with the Bodhimaṇḍa at its foot³. The Bodhimaṇḍa itself has a long and rectangular piece of brick-built altar attached to it in front. On two sides of the altar and the throne we see two human worshippers, paying their homage. The worshipper on the right appears from his dress to be a high royal personage who stands placing

¹ Scene No. 13. ² Scene No. 14. ³ Scene No. 16.

his left hand on his breast and reverentially touching the Bo-Tree with his right hand. The worshipper on the left stands with joined hands, held on his breast, in an attitude of respect. The royal worshipper on the right wears a long thick coat over his body, and a costly scarf over the coat, the ends of which are beautifully hanging on his back. The worshipper on the left is seen wearing scarf over his bare body in a different fashion, and his figure is represented for want of space as slanting sidewise or backward. We need not be surprised if the worshipper on the right is intended to represent a figure of King Dhanabhūti¹, the famous donor of the Gateways and Arches and the worshipper on the left to represent his attendant. The procession of wild elephants bringing flower-offerings to the Bo-Tree is represented behind the human worshippers. In the right half two bigger elephants are carrying each a bunch of lotus-buds, beautifully held up by the trunk, keeping in front a small young elephant that gently walks on towards the Bo-Tree and the Throne. The left half also shows three elephants, one of the bigger elephants walking ahead, carrying a long branch of a flower-tree which is grasped by a young elephant within the fold of his uplifted trunk. A similar scene of worship of the Bodhi Tree and Throne is depicted on the outer side,² where instead of six elephants we have four, the younger elephants being dispensed with, and the position of the two human worshippers is reversed.

13 E. Gateway :—This Gateway, as restored by Cunningham, is composed of two curiously shaped lower pillars and an ornamental arch, the former supporting the latter.³ Each of the lower pillars has a finely chiselled square pedestal (*chaturasra padasthāna*), while its shaft is formed of a group of four octagons (*ashtāsra stambha*), with their capitals similarly joined together. The capital of each octagon has, like that of the Aśokan monolith, a bell shape and a lotus-ornament (*padmabandha*), and is crowned by a smaller cylindrical plinth adorned all over with the pericarp of a full-blown lotus. The four capitals with their drums are covered by a square-shaped single abacus, surmounted on one side by two winged lions, and on the other by two winged bulls, crouching side by side and back to back. The lower pillars, as measured by Cunningham, are 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and 9 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; the four-grouped capitals with their abacus are each 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, while the height of the surmounting figures is 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Thus the total height of each pillar is 12 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is on the four consecutive faces of two octagons that the famous dedicatory inscription of King

¹ The reverse also may be true, in which case the person into the right must be taken to represent an attendant wearing the royal livery. ² Scene No. 16. ³ Scene No. 13.

Dhanabhūti is incised. The toraṇa proper, i. e., the ornamental arch, is a fine network of two upper pillars, three massive architraves, and a large number of small balusters and statue-pillars. Each of the upper pillars has a square shaft, rises from a pedestal, is set in the space between the animal figures on the abacus of the lower pillar and crowned by a Triratna-symbol, composed of two small tails of the makara or two young shoots of lotus-leaves, looped and joined together at the bottom, with a pointed upward projection, the device approaching the form of an Indian trident. The lotus plants are seen springing from the bottom of the bulbous root and one is apt to mistake them for ferns with shooting leaves.

The Triratna-symbol rests upon a full-blown lotus, which itself is set erect upon three receding tiers of stone, the whole of this ornament lying over the upper architrave. The shaft has on its outer face three square mortices into which the square parts of the projecting ends of the three architraves are rivetted. Between these there are two square blocks or dados, each of which presents, according to Cunningham, a face of three Persepolitan half-pillars standing on a Buddhist railing, with two large lotus-flowers in the intervening spaces. The architraves or horizontal stone-beams have each a curved centre and two projecting ends. Each end has a spiral of the curled tail of a crocodile, the gaping mouth of which remains facing the pillars. The square parts of the beams, between the curved centres and the crocodile-ends, bear each, on one side, a symbolical representation of the Bodhisattva's Descent by two beautiful mansions, lying one above the other and containing a cubical jewel-seat of the Buddha, canopied by an umbrella with a wreath or garland hanging from its rim, and on the other, a symbolical representation of the Buddha's Decease by a stūpa, covered by a single parasol. The curved centre of the lower beam bears, on each face, a symbolical representation of the Buddha's Enlightenment by a procession of four elephants, two on each side, bringing flower-offerings to the Bodhi Tree and Throne in the middle. The curved centre of the middle beam similarly bears a fictitious representation by a procession of four leonine animals, two on each side, bringing lotus-flowers towards the Bodhi Tree and Throne, the Tree being a creeping plant of bushy growth, (a bamboo-clump, according to Cunningham). The ornamentation of the upper beam was probably the same as that on the lower. The long spaces between the central curved parts of the beams are uniformly filled with several small balusters and pillar-statues which are placed alternately. Their tenons differ in size and can only fit into the alternate mortice-holes in the beams. The pillars with statues are throughout square in form, while the balusters are invariably octagons with pedestals and capitals approaching those of Persepolitan pillars. The square abacus of each baluster supports the figures of

two ordinary deer, sitting side by side and back and back. Among the surviving statue-pillars in each space, we come across two standing male and two standing female figures, the former apparently representing two guardian angels with front views, and the latter two heavenly maidens, one with a front and the other with a back view. When all the statue-pillars and balusters are fitted into their respective mortices in two spaces, the effect is twofold according as we consider them apart from or along with the three beams and the Gateway-pillars. Considered apart, the effect is the representation of a celestial court between two colonnades, the four guardian angels guarding the four corners, and the four maidens adding charm by their eagerness to enjoy the blessings of life. Considered in relation to the beams and Gateway-pillars, the effect is the representation of a parapeted bridge over the river of life with hungry crocodiles that lie in wait on its two banks. This bridge is the dharmasetu made by the Buddha. It rests high on two posts, formed of four Aryan Truths and Eight-linked Way. The Buddha's Birth and Decease are respectively the beginning and end of its progressive pathway, which rises like a ridge in the middle, where we have the symbol of the Buddha's Enlightenment. The middle is the stage of the greatest triumph in the struggle of the Buddha to lift himself up above the normal level of dharmatā. Its pathway, posts and parapets serve to prevent those who walk by it from falling into the flood and within the grasp of the crocodile, representing passion, delusion and hatred. This crocodile embodiment of evil followed the Buddha from his Birth till his Decease. When it began the chase from one bank of the river, it was in full vigour and power¹, and when it came on the other bank, continuing the chase, it became old, flabby, fatigued, worn out, dim-eyed and powerless². These two stages in the life of the crocodile are clearly represented by the three figures on each side. A square stone-block is set upon each crocodile-end of the upper beam, and it bears a symbolical representation of the Buddha's Renunciation by a caparisoned horse with a seat on his back, canopied by a parasol, standing over two chauris. A larger block of stone is set upon the central part of the upper beam, bearing a symbolical representation of the Buddha's First Sermon by a fern-like fictitious lotus-plant, springing from behind a half lotus-medallion, with eight shooting leaves, four on each side of the central stem, crowned by lotus-shaped wheel. The leaves top on each other, the two upper leaves topping, on each side, on a lotus-flower, attached to the central stem, just below the wheel. In Cunningham's opinion the sculptured statues are much superior in artistic design and execution to those of the Railing-pillars. The back views of two female figures distinctly show that the

¹ Scene No. 14. ² Scene No. 15.

lower garment has been worn by them as dhoti, exactly as is done by the men in India. Cunningham is right in saying that of the four leonine animals on the middle beam, the animals on the right have each a human head and that on the left a bird's head, while the two in the middle are true lions with wide open mouths, all having thick manes, arranged in two rows of stiff tufts. The total height of the Gateway from bottom to upper beam is about 20 feet¹.

14. Relative Position of Railing-Quadrants, Railing>Returns and Gateways :—If the Stūpa were enclosed by Railing-Quadrants and Gateways without Railing>Returns, the whole of the Inner Railing would have made a large circular stone-henge with four wide openings towards four cardinal points, with a high gateway erected immediately before each, each opening standing between the terminus-pillars of two Quadrants and the Gateway-pillars being set just near the outer faces of these pillars and somewhat in line with their outer sides. The four Returns added to the four quadrants served to prevent direct approaches to the Stūpa or Central Mound, and protect the Gateways. Each of these Returns looked like an arm of Indian Svastika or Greek Cross, and its Rail-bars were fitted into mortices on the outer face of the right terminus-pillar of each Quadrant viewed from outside, or of the left terminus pillar in an inside-view, the position of each Return in relation to each Quadrant being such that a visitor desiring to enter the Stūpa-Court by E. Gateway, had really to approach from the north, one entering by S. Gateway, had to walk from the east, one entering by W. Gateway, had to come from the south, and one entering by N. Gateway, had to proceed from the West.

15. Remnants of Inner Railing and Ruins of a Monastery :—Cunningham tells us that when he first visited Barhut in November, 1873, he saw a large flat-topped mound, with the ruins of a small Buddhist Monastery, and three pillars of a Buddhist railing with three connecting Rails or bars of stone. and a Coping-stone covering them, beside a single Gateay-pillar which once supported the toraṇa or ornamental arch of the entrance. The remains of the Monastery contained, among other things, a colossal statue and several smaller Buddhist figures which could not be dated much earlier than 1000 A.D.². Subsequent visits, excavations and explorations enabled him and his assistant Mr. Beglar to discover, unearth, collect and locate portions of four Quadrants, whole or part of some of the Returns, several pieces of isolated Railing-pillars, Rail-bars and Coping-stones belonging to different Quadrants and Returns. The Quadrants are named S.E., S.W., N.E., and N.W. as Cunningham located

¹ Stupa of Bharhut, pp. 6 foll. ² Stupa of Bharhut, p. 4.

them on the site of the Stūpa or found them in situ. He was informed by the present Jagirdar of Barhut that in the first quarter of the 19th century, the site of the Stūpa was entirely covered with a thick jungle and the Railing was then nearly perfect. But he traced several of the Barhut stones in the castle of Batanmara, which was at the time of his visit more than 200 years old.

16. An anomaly and how it can be removed :—Cunningham has arranged and catalogued surviving portions of the Quadrants and Returns as he located them on the spot or found them in situ. Some of the Gateway-pillars and architraves, and several of the Railing-pillars, Rail-bars and Coping-stones, either whole or part, were found over a large area, comprising many villages seven miles around. The brickmound was found completely pulled down. The bricks and stones were carried away to be used as building materials. The hand of spoliation was active all along. Everything was at sixes and sevens. The erection of a second stone-railing, namely, the Outer Railing, suffices to prove that some mishaps had already befallen the Inner Railing many centuries back. Imagination fails to go so far as to conceive the complications and amplitude of vandalism and havoc. We admit that Cunningham located them so on the very spot or found them so in situ. We can even freely concede that the Quadrants and Returns stood as he found them as early as the time when the Outer Railing was erected as a means of protecting the Inner Enclosure. But who can tell us what the exact condition of the Inner Railing was and what repairs were made or what changes were effected then? Anyhow, in following Cunningham's arrangement and naming of the Quadrants and Returns we are confronted with a serious anomaly, namely, that the figure of Kuvera, the Guardian of the North appears on the inner face of a pillar of N. E. Quadrant which bears the figure of Ajakāla Yaksha on its outer face, and that of Chandrā Yakshiṇi on its outer side, which is possible only in the case of the left terminus-pillar of a Quadrant. Now, if this pillar was really a pillar of N. E. Quadrant, it could not but have stood at the eastern extremity, making Kuvera appear as the Guardian of the East. The anomaly may be removed only if we assign this pillar to N. W. Quadrant and take it to represent the left or northern terminus-pillar.

17. Railing-pillars :—Cunningham says that 35 pillars, more or less perfect, were found on the site of the Stūpa, along with numerous fragments of others. Six other pillars were discovered at the neighbouring village of Batanmara and no less than eight more at Pathora, making a total of 49, i. e., more than one half of the original number of 80. He holds out the hope of obtaining some more pillars about Pathora. These pillars are all monoliths of the same general pattern as

those of other Buddhist railings. They are 7 feet 1 inch in height, with a section of 1 foot $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches side for the mortices of three Rail-bars. The corner pillars in the entrance are 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, which is the very same section as that of the Sanchi Stūpa Railing-pillars. The Barhut pillars are 1 foot less in height. The edges of all of them, except the corner pillars, are slightly bevelled on both faces, and they are ornamented after the usual manner of Buddhist railings, by a round boss or full medallion in the middle, and by a half-medallion at top and the same at bottom. All of these medallions are filled with elaborate sculptures, chiefly of lotus flowers or of flower compositions. But there are also several of animals, and a considerable number of scenes taken from Buddhist legends and history. A few have single figures either of Yakshas or Yakshiṇis, or of Devatās or Nāgarājas. Several of these single figures have no inscriptions to identify them. The sculptured scenes of the pillars illustrate several Jātakas and Legends of the Buddha with their titles inscribed above them. The scalloped or bevelled edges are also sculptured with various ornaments, which add greatly to the decorative enrichment of the whole Railing. These consist chiefly of flowers and fruits with human figures, both male and female, standing on the flowers, with their hands either in an attitude of devotion, or reaching upwards to the fruits. On some of the pillars the flowers bear elephants, winged horses, monkeys, or peacocks, while parrots and squirrels hang from the branches and nibble the fruit. The ornamentation of the corner pillars of the entrances is quite different from that of the others. The pillars of the inner corners generally bear figures of Yakshas and Yakshiṇis, Devatās and Nāgarājas, to whom was entrusted the guarding of the four entrances. On the two outer corner pillars there is quite a different arrangement. The faces of these pillars are divided into three compartments or square panels by horizontal bands of Buddhist railing. Each of these panels is filled with sculpture representing some scene or legend in the history of the Buddha. Several of these are extremely interesting, as the inscriptions attached to them enable us to identify the different stories with certainty.¹

18. Pillars of Quadrants :—The left terminus-pillars of Quadrants, viewed from outside, i.e., Cunningham's pillars of inner corners, can easily be distinguished from other pillars of the Great Railing by the fact that only on their inner sides they have mortices for three Rail-bars of Quadrants, and spaces for sculptures on their outer sides and inner and outer faces. Each of these spaces is generally filled, as noted by Cunningham, with a life-size figure of Yaksha, Yakshiṇi, Nāga or Devatā. The right terminus-pillars, i.e., the pillars at angles formed by Quadrants and corres-

¹ Stupa of Barhut, p. 6.

ponding Returns, have mortices on their inner sides for the Quadrant Rail-bars, and mortices on their outer faces for the Rail-bars of Returns. Thus they have spaces for sculptures on their outer sides and inner faces. As distinguished from them, the remaining pillars of Quadrants have mortices for Quadrant Rail-bars on their inner and outer sides, and spaces for sculptures on their inner and outer faces.

19. Pillars of Quadrants :—The terminus-pillar of a Return, precisely like the left terminus-pillar of a Quadrant, has mortices for the Return Rail-bar on its inner sides, and spaces for sculptures on its outer sides and inner and outer faces. Each of these spaces is generally divided by Buddhist railings, as noticed by Cunningham, into three square panels, each of which is filled with a scene from the Buddha's life, present or previous. The pillar at the angle formed by two sides of a Return has mortices for the Return Rail-bars on its inner face and inner side, and spaces for sculptures on its outer face and outer side (on its right and left sides, according to Cunningham). Each of these spaces, exactly as in the case of a Return terminus-pillar, is divided by Buddhist railings into three square panels similarly filled with interesting Jātaka-scenes. The position of this Return-pillar corresponds in some respects to that of the right terminus-pillar of a Quadrant. The remaining two pillars of a Return occupy the same position in relation to its two sides as that of the remaining pillars of a Quadrant in relation to the Quadrant.

20. Right Terminus-Pillar of S.E. Quadrant :—This was, according to the incised Votive label, the First Pillar of the Inner Railing, and a memorable gift of Chāpādevī, the wife of Revatimitra of Vidiśā. It appears to have been the largest and heaviest among the pillars of this Quadrant. It is ornamented on its outer side and inner face with a sculpture representing a scene of Relic-procession, and a prominent base or pedestal, composed of two separate pieces of Buddhist railing, that on the outer side resting on the left shoulders of two pot-bellied, fat-bodied and frog-like Indian palanquin-bearers, and that on the inner face, on the heads of three royal elephants, standing majestically side by side and in line.¹

21. Scene of Relic-Procession :—The head of this procession, as represented on the outer side of the Barhut First Pillar, is composed of three caparisoned elephants, standing majestically side by side, with three royal personages, one mounted on the shoulder of each, with a goad held in the right hand. The elephant in the middle is much larger and taller than those on his two sides, and appears to be a state-elephant. The rider mounted on his shoulder has a much superior dignity than others, and appears to be a king as leader of the procession. This high

¹ Scene No. 17 (a).

royal personage carries a relic-casket, placing it on the elephant's head and holding it carefully in his embrace. This casket may be really a cylindrical small box, provided with a handled lid. The tail of the procession seems to have been intended to be composed of two horsemen and standard-bearers, and represented on two faces of the First Pillar. But actually the scene of one horseman is found sculptured on its inner face, where the rider, mounted on the back of a caparisoned horse, narrows the loop of the reins so as to restrain the horse's motion and make him halt. The same motive is apparent in the attitude of the horse's right foreleg. Thus the representation is one of a scene of arrival of the royal procession on the site of the mound in which the casket was to be deposited.¹ This was probably designed to remind the visitor or pilgrim of how the relic was brought over to Barhut and what really constituted the sacredness and importance of the place. The name of the king who came at the head of the procession is not mentioned. The visitor or pilgrim was perhaps supposed to have known it well who this king was. In one of the small panels of the Coping-stone covering this part of the Quadrant we see a scene of the same procession, where only the main elephant is represented as moving on with the leader mounted on his shoulder holding the goad and the relic-casket.² This goes to show that the main elephant came ahead, being followed by two smaller elephants with their riders. The horseman on the inner face of the First Pillar must have followed these elephants, bearing a standard, which appears to be a small pillar-shaped rod with a flying angel, borne on its capital, and carrying a large piece of hanging garland. This standard is evidently a Garuḍadhvaja, the human-shaped flying angel representing the mythical bird Garuḍa. We might have seen a similar scene of standard-bearer on the outer face of the First Pillar, if there were space for it, we mean, if the Return Rail-bars were not joined on this face. The scene is represented elsewhere, on the outer side of the right terminus pillar of another Quadrant. Here the standard-bearer is a female figure. The head and mouth of the animal upon whom she rides are broken off. But the whole of its back part which remains shows that it is a horse or horse-like animal with the same halting posture of its left foreleg³. The scene is sculptured in such a manner that the pillar being turned round, it will appear as if it stood on the outer face of the First Pillar to complete the tail of the procession.

22. Three other Right Terminus-Pillars :—The right terminus-pillars of three other Quadrants have been recently removed to Calcutta and placed within

¹ Scene No. 17 (a). It was the usual custom to carry the relic-casket (dhatu-changotd) by a king by placing it on the head of a state elephant. See Oldenberg's *Vinaya-Pitaka*, Vol. III, p. 329, the reference occurring in Buddhaghosha's *Samanta-Pāsādikā*, Introduction. ² Scene No. 9 (a). ³ Scene No. 17 (b).

the Bharhut Gallery of the Indian Museum. One of them is sculptured on its outer side with the figure of a female standard-bearer, and on its inner face with the figure of a Yaksha mounted on a bearded and human-faced quadruped. In this example, too, the figure of the standard-bearer representing the rail of the relic-procession is set upon a Buddhist railing. The second pillar bears on its outer side the figure of a Sirimā goddess, and on its inner face the figure of a Yaksha, both remaining standing on level ground¹. The third pillar is sculptured on its outer side with the statue of a Yaksha or Nāga, and on its inner face with that of a Yakshiṇi or Devatā.

23. Prasenajit Pillar :—This is the S. Gate Return terminus-pillar which has three square panels on its outer side, and three square panels on each of its two faces, inner and outer². These panels are filled, as noticed by Cunningham, with distinct Jātaka-scenes and divided by Buddhist railings. At its base and below each lower panel, there is a Buddhist railing on a pavement, borne up on the upraised hands of three men, who sit characteristically high on their legs, as though trying to stand up and failing to do so on account of the heavy weight. The general architectural design of its base is the same as what we see on the eastern terminus-pillar of S. E. Quadrant, the First Pillar of the Barhut Railing. Seeing that the upper panel on its inner face contains a scene of King Prasenajit's visit to the Buddha, Cunningham designates it Prasenajit Pillar.

24. Ajatasatru Pillar :—This is the W. Gate Return corner pillar with three square panels on its outer side and three such panels on its outer face. These panels are divided by Buddhist railings, and occupy the whole of the outer side and the whole of the outer face. Each panel is filled with a distinct Jātaka-scene, and one of the scenes on the outer side consists of a representation of the Buddhist legend of King Ajātaśatru's interview with the Buddha³. There can be little doubt that this and Prasenajit Pillar belong to the same class.

25. Brahmadeva Pillar :—This is the N. Gate Return corner pillar bearing a scene of Brahmadeva's visit to the Buddha which fills two large square panels on its outer face,⁴ and a scene of the Jātaka-episode of Vidūra and Pūrṇaka, which fills some four such panels on its outer side.⁵ The panels, exactly as in the case of Ajātaśatru Pillar, occupy the whole of its outer side and the whole of its outer face, and are divided by Buddhist railings.

26. Pataora Gateway Pillar :—The pieces of the Barhut Gateway-pillar found at Pataora show on some of their faces and sides the same panel arrangement

¹ Scene No. 7. ² Scenes No. 17. ³ Scene No. 51. ⁴ Scene No. 41. ⁵ Scene No. 136.

of the Jātaka-scenes as that which we see on the Brahmadeva Pillar.¹ The Jātaka-scenes of this Gateway-pillar belong, as we have seen, to the general Barhut Railing scheme of sculptures, and as such, they must be treated as integral parts of this scheme. The same holds true of the pieces found at Batanmara.

27. Chronological Position of Returns :—The result of our study of the First and three other Right Terminus, Prasenajit, Ajātasatru, Brahmadeva and Pataora Gateway pillars is that they represent a distinct form by themselves. They show a close agreement in respect of the architectural device at the base and the panel-arrangement of the Jātaka-scenes. Among them, the first four are the right terminus pillars of four separate Quadrants, the fifth is the S. Gate Return terminus-pillar, the sixth is the W. Gate Return corner pillar, the seventh is the N. Gate Return corner pillar, and the last one is a remnant of a lower pillar of one of the Gateways. This Gateway pillar, as we noticed, is distinct from the lower pillars of E. Gateway. The right terminus-pillar of a Quadrant belongs as much to the Quadrant as to the corresponding Return. Our study of the four examples that we have, rather shows that they belonged more to the structure of the Return than to that of the Quadrant. Upon the whole, it seems that the four Returns including the right terminus-pillars of the four Quadrants, and the South and North Gates of two pillars each were additions made at a certain date. We mean that originally the Inner Railing was a circular stone-enclosure, divided into four Quadrants by four openings on four faces of the Stūpa, without the Returns and without the Gates and arched Gateways.

28. Date of First Pillar :—The Barhut First Pillar, i.e., the right terminus-pillar of S. E. Quadrant, connected with the E. Gate Return, was a precious gift from Chāpādevī of Vidiśā, the wife of Revatimitra.² On one of the isolated fragments we trace an inscription which records a gift from Vāsishṭhi of Vidiśā, the wife of Veṇimitra.³ From the general Barhut convention we can easily conjecture that Chāpādevī and Vāsishṭhi, and their husbands Revatimitra and Veṇimitra were members of a royal family of Vidiśā. If this royal family be the one connected with Agnimitra, the powerful Śuṅga Viceroy stationed at Vidiśā, we must understand that the First Pillar which was the gift of Chāpādevī, the four Returns, and the South and North Gate-pillars (probably without the carvings) were set up during the reign of Pushyimitra, the traditional founder of the Śuṅga Dynasty, say, between 184 and 148 B. C.

29. Disposal of Original Right Terminus-Pillars :—If the Returns, as

¹ Scenes Nos. 18-19 ² Barua Sinha, No. 4. ³ Barua Sinha, No. 120.

described above, were really later additions, we have to inquire how the original right terminus-pillars of four Quadrants were disposed of in adding the Returns. We see that they could not be retained where they were, for they were too small in sides to make an angle with two arms, one with mortices for the Quadrant Rail-bars, and the other with mortices for the Return Rail-bars, as if two Railing-pillars combining into one and making the breadth of the outer side equal to that of the inner face. For the same reason they could not be used as the Return corner pillars. They could not be set up as the Return terminus pillars, if they were sculptured after the Quadrant pattern. They could not take the place of the Return intermediate pillars, if their outer sides were not plain or carvings on these sides were not cut away for the sake of mortices. Keeping them intact, they could not be used as substitutes for any other Quadrant Pillars but those in left terminii.

30. Return Intermediate Pillars :—In one of Cunningham's original photographs we see a small fragment of a Return Railing containing a single instance of a Return intermediate pillar. It shows three mortices on each of its two sides, and is ornamented on its inner face with one full medallion in the middle and two half medallions, one at the top and one at the bottom.¹ That is to say, this pillar is shaped and sculptured in the same general pattern as the Quadrant intermediate pillars. Cunningham was able to collect from amongst the fragments pieces of two stone pillars of different dimensions and with a different arrangement of the medallions from those of the Quadrant pillars. Both of them bore inscriptions written in letters which were not different from those of other inscriptions except in being much thicker and more coarsely executed. These pillars were evidently of the same breadth and probably of the same height as those of the Inner Railing. They followed an arrangement according to which two full and two half medallions could be accommodated on each of their faces. One of the inscriptions, with the words *Bahuhathika-āsana Bhagavato Mahādevasa*, distinctly refers to a representation of the Buddha's seat, guarded and worshipped by many elephants.² They must have belonged, as Cunningham conjectures, to some distinct enclosure other than the Great Railing.³ But we have seen that in the case of other smaller Votive Stūpas and Shrines on the outer extension of the Terraced Floor the enclosures were brick walls. If they were of the same breadth and of the same height as the Railing pillars, they must have been meant to fit in with the Great Railing. We suspect that these were the two Return intermediate pillars with a special arrangement for two full and two half medallions on their faces.

¹ Scene No. 7. ² Barua Sinha, No. 188. ³ Stūpa of Barhut, pp. 13—14.

31. Left Terminus Pillar of N. W. Quadrant :—This pillar bears on its inner face the life-size figure of Kuvera Yaksha,¹ the Guardian of the north, that of Ajakāla Yaksha² on its outer face, and that of Chandrā Yakshī³ on its outer side. Kuvera is seen standing on a man, Ajakāla on an animal-faced makara, and Chandrā on a makara which is horse-faced. These vehicles are sculptured at the base of the pillar.

32. Left Terminus Pillar of S. E. Quadrant :—This pillar bears on its outer side the life-size figure of Virūdhaka Yaksha,⁴ the Guardian of the south, that of the Dragon-chief Chakravāka⁵ on its inner face, and that of Gāṅgeya Yaksha on its outer face. Virūdhaka is seen standing on a high rock, Chakravāka on a rock over a lake, and Gāṅgeya⁶ on a tree and an elephant. These stands and vehicles are sculptured at the base of the pillar.

33. Intermediate Statue Pillars :—Our inquiry reaches a point where we can distinguish the left terminus-pillar of each Quadrant as a statue-pillar. But similar statue-pillars can also be traced among the intermediate uprights of a Quadrant. The main difference between these and left terminus statue-pillars is that the former bear figures only on their faces, and none on their outer sides as these are filled with mortices. In the S. E. Quadrant we have an intermediate pillar which bears on one face a male figure standing on an elephant, and on the other face a female figure standing on a lotus-cluster, the stands and vehicles occupying the base of the pillar. The male figure is Supravāsa Yaksha⁷ and the female figure is a Lotus-nymph.⁸ In this Quadrant there is just another intermediate pillar which bears only on one face the figure of the goddess Chūlakokā⁹ standing on an elephant under a tree. In the S. W. Quadrant we find one intermediate pillar which bears on one face the figure of Sūchiloma¹⁰ standing on a Buddhist railing, and on the other face the figure of the goddess Sirimā¹¹ on a similar railing. The half of a pillar, split sidewise, bears on its face the life-size figure of a soldier-like figure¹², probably of some Asura or god, standing on a Buddhist railing at the pillar-base. If the other half remained, it would perhaps have shown on its face a female figure of some yakshīni or goddess. There are three other intermediate pillars, belonging to different Quadrants, each of which bears a female figure only on one of its faces. One of the female figures standing on a horse under a tree is probably the goddess Madhyamakokā¹³, the other standing on an elephant or rhinoceros-faced makara is

¹ Scene No. 60. ² Scene No. 61. ³ Scene No. 73. ⁴ Scene No. 58. ⁵ Scene No. 70. ⁶ Scene No. 62.
⁷ Scene No. 64. ⁸ Scene No. 81. ⁹ Scene No. 75. ¹⁰ Scene No. 63. ¹¹ Scene No. 78. ¹² Scene No. 71.
¹³ Scene No. 76.

Sudarśanā Yakṣiṇī¹, and the third standing on a man is perhaps Kuvera's queen². The pillars that bear single figures are all sculptured with female statues.

34. Plainness of Original Intermediate Pillars :—It seems that the original right terminus-pillars of Quadrants were each sculptured with three statues generally comprising one male figure on one face, one female figure on the other face, and one female figure on the outer side. When they were replaced, they could not be utilised, if they were at all utilised, in the Quadrants except by cutting off the female figures from their outer sides for the sake of mortices. If these figures were meant to be retained, they could not be retained except by reproducing them on the faces of four other intermediate pillars, one in each Quadrant. If they were reproduced on the faces of original intermediate pillars, they could not be reproduced, if the faces of these pillars were not plain. The inclusion of the right terminus-pillar necessitated the removal of one of the intermediate pillars from each Quadrant, and if the faces of the pillar taken out from each Quadrant were plain, it was easy to include it in the corresponding Return. What happened in fact we do not know. But from the evidence in hand we cannot but premise that the matter happened thus and not otherwise. We have already drawn the reader's attention to an instance where the half of the tail of the scene of Relic-procession that was to be sculptured on the outer face of the Barhut First Pillar has been represented separately on the outer side of a right terminus pillar belonging to a separate Quadrant. No one can have any doubt about it. If the matter happened thus in one case, there is likelihood that it turned out to be so also in other cases. Not only that. Comparing the four female figures of Chūlakokā, Madhyamakokā, Sudarśanā and Kuvera's queen appearing on the four single-statue pillars, with those of Chandrā, Lotus-nymph and two Sirimā goddesses, appearing in groups and pairs on other statue pillars, we notice these two points of sculptural distinction : (1) that the latter figures invariably show a greater leanness of waist, and (2) that the former figures are uniformly characterised by a smaller and less protruding breast. Thus these differ in technique, style and mode.

35. Date of Figures on Single-Statue Pillars :—We observe that the four female figures on the four Quadrant single statue-pillars bear, so far as the size of waist and breast and general technique are concerned, a close likeness with two female figures, one a goddess and the other a Kinnari, appearing in two separate panels on the side of a Gateway lower pillar, found at Pataora. If so, we may understand that these single statue-pillars of Quadrants and the right terminus pillar

¹ Scene No. 74. ² Scene No. 72.

bearing the representation of a part of the tail of Relic-procession were sculptured at the very same time as the First, i, e., during the reign of Pushyamitra.

36. Remaining Quadrant Pillars :—The intermediate pillars of Quadrants other than those bearing statues on both faces, are well described by Cunningham. His description equally holds true of the single statue-pillars in respect of the faces that do not bear any statues. They are ornamented by a full medallion embossed in the middle of each face and by two half medallions, one at top and one at bottom. These medallions are filled with various designs of lotus flowers or flower compositions. Some of the full medallions, and the very few among the upper half medallions contain carvings illustrating the Birth-stories, or representing some aspects of life in nature. They are slightly bevelled on both faces, the bevelled edges themselves being ornamented with various decorative designs. But it is not true that this bevelling is a mark of distinction between these and what Cunningham calls corner pillars. In fact all the pillars are bevelled, or can be supposed to have been bevelled, except where the space is wholly occupied by the panels and statues.

37. Railing Foundation :—The underground foundation of the Great Railing consisted of a number of square blocks, on each of which rested the rough-hewn foot of a pillar. Each block, as noted by Cunningham, was laid directly on the earth¹.

38. Epigraphic evidence as to Original Pillar Form :—The study of panel-arrangement and technique of sculptured scenes and figures on some of the special pillars in Quadrants and Returns has led us to suppose a condition when the Inner Railing, like the Outer, was a simple enclosure of stone without the Returns, the right and left terminus pillars of each Quadrant bearing three statues of demigods each, and the intermediate pillars being plain or unsculptured. We have been led to presume that the Returns were added when Chāpādevī made her gift of First Pillar during the reign of Pushyamitra. Is this borne out by the evidence of inscriptions? On each of the Railing pillars, as we now see it, is incised a votive inscription recording whose gift it was. There is not a single pillar which remains intact and does not bear an inscription of this kind. In most cases the Votive and Jātaka labels occur separately, and in some, consecutively. Each pillar bears just one votive inscription recording the gift of an individual donor. In some instances the gift is recorded in a general form as the gift of so and so, and in some, in a particular form as the pillar-gift of so and so, or the gift of so and so—a pillar. The pillars, as we now have them

¹ Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 12.

recorded, are all sculptured or ornamented. In no instance a pillar is recorded to be the gift of one donor and the sculpture that of another. Thus whether a votive inscription is worded in a general or a particular form, the implication is the same, the gift consisting of a pillar as sculptured and not of a pillar as unsculptured or plain. Are we to understand that in cases where the form is general, the intention is that both pillar and sculpture were the gift of the same donor, and in cases where the form is particular, the intention is that the pillar alone was the gift of one donor, while the sculpture was a superaddition made out of the general funds or on the strength of donation from some donor whose name is not recorded? To hold this is to stretch the matter too far beyond ordinary comprehension. Accepting the plain meaning, we must understand that the recorded gift was of a pillar as sculptured and not of a pillar as plain. If on the strength of epigraphic evidence, taken in this sense, we take it that when these pillars were recorded to be gifts, they were sculptured in the present form, how can we hold that they were at any time plain except by supposing that they were unsculptured when they were unrecorded? And if we do not suppose this, how can we satisfactorily account for some notable changes that took place systematically in the arrangement of pillars and the form and technique of sculptures? Thus without doing violence to epigraphic evidence, we can presume that a plain railing with rough-hewn massive pillars was found in existence, and as each pillar or component part was sculptured, it came to be recorded as a gift, this hypothesis leaving out of account those instances where sculptured pillars were newly set up in later times. To be clear, this hypothesis leads us to conceive these three stages in the growth of the Great Railing, the third stage being reached when Chāpādevi made her gift and the Returns were added: (1) a plain railing of rough-hewn stone consisting of four Quadrants; (2) the right and left terminus pillars in each Quadrant being sculptured with three statues each and recorded as a gift; and (3) the Returns being added necessitating certain additions and alterations among the pillars of Quadrants.

39. Rails or Rail-Bars :—These are called suchī or needles serving, as they do, as a means of needling together the pillars by being fitted into their mortices or eyelet holes. There were 228 Rail-bars in the Inner Railing including the Returns, and of these, about 80 have been found by Cunningham. The existing rails of Quadrants measure 1 foot $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length by 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, with a thickness of 6 inches. Compared with the rails at Bodh-Gayā, Sānchi and Mathurā, the Barhut rails have an inferior thickness, with the result that their curved surface appears very much flatter. They have on each face a circular boss or full medallion. Most of these bosses contain various designs of lotus flowers, a few contain Jātaka-scenes, some contain representations of life in nature, one contains a figure of the goddess

Sri, and one a Buddhist Stūpa. It is the bosses in the middle row, falling in line with full medallions on pillars, that are filled with Jātaka-scenes and other interesting representations. The rails of Returns, like those of Quadrants, were generally embossed on both faces with round medallions containing various floral designs, the designs of lotus flowers. But the former were much longer owing to the wider inter-communication of the pillars, the side openings being $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet and the front openings $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide. On two of these longer pillars we see oblong panels instead of round medallions. One of the oblong panels contains a scene of the Buddha's Jewel-walk, one a scene of his Great Decease, one a scene of the Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka, and one that of Viṣṇuabha's or Virūdhaka's invasion of Kapilavāstu forming a sequel to the Dhammachetiya story of King Prasenajit's last visit to the Buddha which is depicted on the Prasenajit Pillar. Each rail, like each pillar, has a votive inscription recording the gift of some donor or donors. In many instances the gift has been recorded simply as a gift of so and so, in some, as a rail-gift of so and so, and in some, as gift of so and so,—a rail. Cunningham offers the following explanation: "It seems probable that in the former cases the inscriptions originally ended with dānam, and that the nature of the gift was afterwards added at the request of the donor."¹ There is not a single instance where the rail is recorded to be a gift of one donor, and the sculpture that of another.

40. Change of Round Medallions to Oblong Panels :—Cunningham has tried to account for the appearance of oblong panels on some of the Return rails in place of round medallions thus: "The 19 inch round medallion which was sufficient to fill the surface of a 23-inch rail, would appear to have been considered too meagre for the decoration of the longer rail of 30 to 40 inches. The round medallion was, therefore, changed to an oblong panel, 25 inches in length, which covered the greater part of the surface".²

41. Chronological position of Rail-Bars :—Cunningham's explanation for the oblong shape of the panels in two Return rails does not seem to be commendable. There are a few other specimens of these rails which, though much longer than the rails of Quadrants, bear round medallions with designs of lotus flowers. The oblong shape of the panels indicates a departure from the general Bharhut tradition of lotus-designs in medallions and half medallions. This departure was also made in some of the Return pillars having oblong or square panels. Just as these pillars, so these rails were rather the exception than the rule. Three scenes in three of the rail panels

¹ Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 11-12. ² Stūpa of Bharhut p. 12.

of oblong shape are connected, in respect of subject and detail, with three scenes of the Prasenajit pillar. Comparing them, we cannot but be struck by the improved technique and the greater ornamental finish of the former. In two cases the scenes in the rail panels represent stories forming sequel to those represented on the Prasenajit pillar. Thus it can be shown that what we see in these rail panels is nothing but a greater perfection of the pillar model. The inclusion of the rails with such panels must be taken to represent the final addition and alteration. The same remark holds true of two pillars with the arrangement for two full and two half medallions on each of their faces. When this final repair took place we do not know, though it must have taken place after the panels of the Prasenjit pillars were carved. But there is a definite epigraphic evidence to prove that some of the rails were included in the Great Railing at the time when King Dhanabhūti erected the E. Gateway. One of the rails is recorded to be a gift of Prince Vādhapāla, the son of King Dhanabhūti,¹ and another that of Nāgarakhitā, probably the wife of the same king.²

42. Coping :—Cunningham says that the Coping or continuous architrave, crowning the circle of pillars, is formed of massive blocks of stone, each spanning two intercolumniations. Each block is found to be upwards of 7 feet in length, with a height of 1 foot 10½ inches, and a thickness of 1 foot 8 inches. They are secured firmly to each other by long tenons fitting into corresponding mortices; and to the tops of the pillars by a stout tenon on each, which fits a socket on the under side of the Coping stone. Some 16 blocks have been found out of the original total of 40, so that exactly three-fifths of the entire Coping is at present missing. The total length of the Coping, including the Returns at the four entrances, was 330 feet, the whole of which was most elaborately and minutely sculptured, both inside and outside. At the end of the Coping stone which faced the visitor as he approached each of the entrances there was a boldly carved lion, with a curly mane and long bushy tail, sitting on his haunches.³ The remains of three of these lion-statues have been found. All the statues are broken, and the head of only one of them survives at present. Next to the lion, on both the inner and outer faces of the Coping, there is a kneeling elephant, from whose mouth issues a long undulating stem, which continues to the end of the Quadrant, and divides the face of the Coping by its undulation into a number of small panels, each of which is filled with sculptures. On the inner face some have flowers, and fruits, some necklaces and earrings and other personal ornaments, while the rest are

¹ Barua Sinha, No. 103. ² Barua Sinha, No. 115. ³ Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. XXXIX See Scenes No. 3, 3 (a).

of a full-blown lotus flower. This broad line of bas-relief, carved bold and deep, is finished on both faces by two rich borders, the lower one consisting of a continuous row of bells.¹

43. Ornamentation in Borders:—The Quadrants and Returns show no difference as to ornamental designs in the Coping borders.² In the upper border on both faces, there is a continuous row of battalions under lotus-arches, and in the lower border, a continuous net of bells, hanging from the bamboo pole. On the outer face the meshes of the net are interwoven of ordinary linen thread, while on the inner face they appear to be jewelled. The net on the inner face seems to truly represent what is called *ratna-kiñkiñi-jāla*.

44. Outer line of bas-reliefs :—Between the two borders we see, on the outer face of the Quadrant coping as well as that of the coping over the corresponding Return, a uniform creeper-design (*latākarma*), which appears to be discontinuous when the two copings are taken to form a single whole.³ None of the Quadrants and Returns has survived in full. The fragments that now remain clearly show two separate beginnings in the creeper-design, one in the Quadrant coping and one in the Return. In the Quadrant coping a long creeper-stem issues forth, as noticed by Cunningham, from the mouth of a kneeling elephant, and spreads forth along the ground from right to left, forming a large number of curved panels in its undulating folds. Each of these panels is filled with the same flower-composition, consisting of a full-blown lotus-flower blossoming in a lotus-shrub, which springs from each joint in the creeper. Thus the creeper itself may be taken to represent either a serpentine imaginary lotus-stalk or a crawling stem with a continuous row of lotus-shrubs with lotus leaves, buds and flowers. How this design was actually finished in the left end of each Quadrant coping we do not know. But it seems likely that on the left side, too, the creeper was represented as issuing forth from the mouth of a similarly kneeling elephant and crawling from left to right. In this manner the outer creeper-design in each Quadrant coping was treated as complete by itself. The elephants themselves were represented as wild animals, and their figures were carved stiff and formal. The outer face of the Return coping has the same creeper-design with lotus-composition. But unfortunately the figure of the kneeling elephant is missing. In all probability, it resembled in all respects the one seen on the inner face where the animal is represented as a state elephant,

¹ Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 9-10.

² Scenes Nos. 3, 8-10.

³ Scene No. 8.

caparisoned, well-trained, and more animated and prostrate than those in the Quadrant coping. If the Quadrant and the Return had originally formed one single whole, the creeper-designs in the copings over both would not have been discontinuous and the figures of the kneeling elephants would have been carved alike.

45. Inner line of bas-reliefs :—The inner face of the copings over the Quadrant¹ and the corresponding Return² shows similar creeper-designs between the two borders, with the same two beginnings and the same kneeling elephants as on the outer face. The lotus-composition lingers here and there in the inner creeper-designs. But here the curved panels, instead of containing the lotus shrubs and flowers, are filled with the Jātaka scenes, certain scenes other than the Jātaka, some isolated animal figures, and several bunches of fruits and flower-ornaments growing on the tendrils that spring from the creeper-joints. Among the Jātaka-scenes, all illustrate the past-anecdotes describing the achievements of the Buddha during his previous Bodhisattva career. There is only one scene which depicts the sufferings of the sinners in hell. These scenes and the bunches of fruits and flower-ornaments generally alternate each other, the former filling the upper and the latter, the under panels. In exceptional instances they overlap. In most cases the scene in one panel represents a complete Birth-story, and in a few, one story is distributed into two or more successive upper panels. In one exceptional case, the story is depicted in two distantly placed upper panels. In another case, the scene of sufferings in hell fills four successive upper and lower panels, evidently for want of space, and in each of the last three panels the scene and the bunch are combined. This particular scene is to be noticed in a Return-coping. The non-Jātaka scenes and isolated animal figures are accommodated in the upper panels, in place of the Jātaka-carvings. The former include a scene of relic-procession, representing its progress, while the scene on the First Pillar represents its termination. The scene itself is located in a coping-stone which stands over the First Pillar. There is a second representation in which two men are seen crossing a wide valley or gulph by a bridge of rope. In a third, we see two men walking one behind the other, one behind holding a hanging piece of rope, and one in front holding the same formed into a loop. It may be that one man has been represented in two positions. In a fourth, we see a herd of wild elephants ranging in an elephant-forest under a mighty leader who walks behind. The isolated animal figures include two or three leonine animals that differ, in conception as well as execution, from the majestic and life-like lions sitting on their haunches in the outer ends of

¹ Scene No. 9.

² Scenes Nos. 3, 10.

the Return copings. All the leonine animals figure only in the Quadrant coping panels, and stand out as a mark of distinction. The difference between the lion figures alone may suffice to prove that the Return coping was a later addition to the Quadrant. The bunches of fruits and flower-ornaments show the similarity but no identity of certain forms in grouping or combination. They may be easily classified under these ten types:—

1. Smaller mango,
2. Larger mango,
3. Glossy-skinned jack-fruit,
4. Rough-skinned jack-fruit,
5. Date-palm-like,
6. Anklet-shaped,
7. Cloth-and-chain-shaped,
8. Earring-shaped,
9. Garland-shaped,
10. Necklace-shaped.

The Triratna-symbol, the jewel-seat and the Bodhi-tree *Aśvattha* are present in some of these compositions. In a few instances we see the combination of two or more forms¹.

46. Original Shape of the Coping :—Scene No. 145. as we now see it, is slightly curved to suit the circumference of a semi-circle. The Great Railing crowned by this Coping appears like a covered and circular path or hall of perambulation. We have a fine representation of the latter in the scene of the Bodhi-Tree of Śākya-muni where the path or hall stands between two sets of pillars, needled by three rail-bars and supporting a curved and gabled roof. There are many other representations where, in almost all of them, the railing is composed of three rail-bars. In two instances the rail-bars are four², and in two, just two³, the number varying according to the space available in a panel. These mansion-like edifices are all met with in the square and quadrangular panels of some of the special pillars in the Returns, the *Prasenajit*, the *Ajātasatru* and the rest which were evidently of a later date. These panels also contain patterns of the pavement having the railing-structure in its composition. Here the coping appears to be an oblong-shaped block of stone with a flat roof. The First Pillar set up by *Chāpādevī* and the Quadrant statue-pillars of the same age do not present any pattern of the mansion but only that of the pave-

¹ Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Pls. XL, and L—LI. See Scene No. 149.

² Scenes Nos. 52, 54.

³ Scenes Nos. 39, 95 a.

ment. If the pavement were at any time the prototype of our Railing, as we believe it was, we cannot but presume that the coping was then oblong-shaped with a flat roof, and not with a curved and gabled one.

47. Birthplace of the Story-Teller :—The village of Barhut or Bharhut where the Buddhist Stūpa and Railing were built belongs, as Cunningham records, to the small state of Nagod in Baghelkhand district. It is situated six miles to the north-east of Uchahara, nine miles nearly due south of the Railway station at Sutna, and about 95 miles to the south-east of Allahabad, 120 miles according to Cunningham's estimate. It is known to be the site of an old city, which extended for 12 miles, embracing Uchahara on the north.¹ All the surrounding villages of the present day are believed to have been the several mahallas or divisions of the ancient city, the existence of which is best proved by the broken bricks and pieces of pottery found on the ground around the present village. The great trade-route which, probably in the Buddha's life-time, extended westward from Magadhapura² (Rājagaha, according to the Sutta-Nipāta Commentary) via Vesāli across the Ganges, and via Kusinārā, Kapilavatthu and Setavya by forming a curve or circuit, branched off somewhere at Sāvattī into two separate routes, one, the Uttarāpatha or Northern (rather N. W.) leading to Gandhāra or Takkasīlā across the desert of Rājputānā, and the other, the Dakkhināpatha or Southern (rather S. W.) extending at first southward via Sāketa and Kosambi across the Yamunā to reach the jungle-tract called Vana, and then turning westward and southward to reach Patitthāna or Paithan in the Godāvari region by forming a loop via Vedisā, Gonaddha, Ujjeni and Māhissati. The places lying about the western destination of each of these two routes are said to have belonged to Aparanta, and so far as Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII is concerned, the five Greco-Bactrian territories lying one beyond another are examples of the countries in the north-western destination of the Uttarāpatha, and Bhoja (Illichpur), Petenika (? Paithan) and Andhra, those of countries in the south-western destination of the Dakkhināpatha. The village of Barhut happens to be situated just at the northern end of the long narrow valley of Mahiyar near the point where the high road from Ujain and Bhilsa to Patna turns to the north with Kosam as a notable halting place in the north, and thus it coincides very nearly with the position of the jungle-tract Vana in relation to the ancient Southern Road. Buddhaghosha, or better, the author of the Sutta-Nipāta-Commentary, knew that this jungle-tract was called by some Tumbanagara, and by others, Vana-Sāvattī or Jungle-Srāvastī, Sāvattī being famous

¹ Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 1—3.

² Sutta-Nipāta, Book V., Prologue; Buddhist India, p. 103.

in Buddhist literature as the capital of Kosala, and no less as the ancient great centre of Buddhist activities.

48. Age :—The inscription on the E. Gateway clearly records that this stone-structure with its ornamental finish was set up by King Dhanabhūti in the dominion of the Śuṅgas. King Dhanabhūti himself is represented as the son of Āgaraju and grandson of King Viśvadeva. This inscription can be construed as meaning that when King Dhanabhūti erected this Gateway, the Śuṅgas wielded their suzerain power over an extensive empire in Āryāvarta. The fragments of two other inscriptions also go to show that two other Gateways or their ornamental arches were erected by the same king. It cannot be definitely maintained, as has been done by Dr. Bühler and other scholars like Dr. Hultsch, that King Dhanabhūti, the royal donor of the Gateways, was a feudatory of the Śuṅgas. Dhanabhūti seems to have been a king of the Mathurā region, and it has yet to be ascertained whether this region was then included in the Śuṅga empire or not. What is apparent from these inscriptions is that King Dhanabhūti was an ally of the Śuṅgas, if not exactly a feudatory. On the evidence of his inscriptions Dr. Bühler suggested 150 B. C. as the probable date of the Barhut Gateways, and indirectly that of the Barhut Inner Railing. Sir Alexander Cunningham who at first presumed an earlier date, going back to the reign of Aśoka, authorised later Dr. J. Anderson to record his opinion in favour of the date suggested by Dr. Bühler.

One of the Votive labels records a Rail-bar, included in the Inner Railing, to be a gift of Prince Vṛiddhapāla, the son of King Dhanabhūti. Another label records another such Rail-bar to be a gift of Queen Nāgarakshitā, probably the wife of the same king. There can be no doubt that these two Rail-bars were contemporaneous with the Gateways that were erected by Dhanabhūti. But we do not as yet understand how 150 B. C. can be definitely fixed as a date, or how can this date be regarded as the only date of the whole of the Barhut Inner Railing with its Quadrants and Returns, and with its Inscriptions and Sculptures. Dhanabhūti's inscriptions enable one to understand that the Gateways were erected by him 'during the reign of the Śuṅgas', and infer that the Rail-bars recorded to be gifts of his wife and son were put in at the same time. The expression 'during the reign of the Śuṅgas' is rather vague from the point of chronology seeing that the Śuṅga-reign covered about 112 years, from circa 184 to 82 B. C. The real point at issue is whether the date ascertainable from Dhanabhūti's inscriptions and records of gifts of his wife and son represents the beginning or close of the Śuṅga-reign, and the commencement or consummation of the Barhut Great Railing. Dr. Waddell rightly contends that the date

of the E. Gateway cannot be the date of the whole Railing, since this Gateway does not appear to be an original investing structure at all¹. But his interest is not so much to fix the lower limit as the upper. Without raising any question as to 150 B. C. being the lower limit, he seems concerned to push back the upper limit to the Mauryan age, if not precisely to the time of Asoka, thus tending to confirm in the main the views of Cunningham as he had expressed them in his Stūpa of Bharhut. M. Foucher expresses his opinion in a non-contentious, less committal and apparently more accurate form, and says. "On one of the jambs of the eastern gate, found in situ, we read, in a somewhat later script, a mention of the ephemeral suzerain dynasty of the Śuṅgas, which succeeded the Mauryas towards the year 180 B. C. ; it relates to the erection of the gate, or, to be more exact, the replacement of an old wooden model by a stone-work ; and thus we feel certain that towards the end of the second century the final touch must have been given to the decoration of the stūpa, commenced, no doubt, during the third."²

Dr. Waddell's contention for an earlier beginning is quite reasonable, but his grounds are faulty. M. Foucher's opinion has the merit of extending the range of chronology and placing it between the third century B. C. and the end of the second century, but it is vague as it relates to the chronological position of the whole sanctuary, beginning with the Stūpa and ending with the Torāṇa. The real questions of importance are : (1) when was the Stūpa built and by whom ? and (2) what is the relative chronology of successive stages in the growth of the Inner Railing from its rude beginning to its final form ?

As to the date and builder of the Stūpa we find that Barhut is not one of the eight places where ten mounds were built by Aiātaśatru, the king of Magadha, and others, eight for the bodily remains, one for the vessel in which the body had been burnt, and one for the embers of the funeral pyre of the Buddha, immediately after his demise. Rājagaha, Vesālī, Allakappa, Rāmagāma, Veṭhadīpa, Pāvā, Kusinārā and Pippalivana are the places where these mounds were made. A few verses forming the epilogue of the Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta, and added, according to Buddhaghosha, by the Theras of Ceylon, seem to refer to redistribution of the relics, which took place later on, and enshrinement of the same in such places as Gandhāra and Kāliṅga.³ The corresponding verses in the Buddhavamsa, evidently interpolated by the same agency, hint at the same fact, one of the MSS. also mentioning Simhala (Ceylon) among the countries where the mounds were built in later times.

¹ J R A S 1914, pp. 138 foll.

² The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, p. 34.

³ Buddhist Suttas, S.B.E, Vol. XI, pp. 134-135.

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These verses had been added before the Pāli Canon was finally rehearsed and committed to writing during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, the king of Ceylon, towards the end of the first century B.C. Later traditions in the Pāli Chronicles and Commentaries, as well as in the Sanskrit Avadānas associate the work of redistribution of the relics with King Aśoka. These traditions also record that a tope was built by and during the reign of King Ajātaśatru to deposit in one place the relics collected by the Venerable Mahākāśyapa from all the mounds except one in Rāmagrāma. It is King Aśoka who after a careful search was able to locate the Ajātaśatru tope, and succeeded in rebuilding after reopening it and redistributing the remains deposited there. Thus the building of the Stūpa at Barhut, if it enshrined the remains of the Buddha, was not possible before this redistribution took place during the reign of Aśoka.

Was Aśoka himself the builder of the Stūpa? In none of his edicts hitherto discovered, he claims that he was the builder of any Stūpa. He claims indeed in his Nigālva Pillar Edict that he enlarged the Stūpa of Koṇāgamana Buddha for the second time, in his 14th regnal year, and that he came there personally to honour it in the 20th year of his recorded reign. In each and all of them he evinces a keen interest in having his instructions and proclamations permanently inscribed on rocks (pavata), stoneslabs (silāphalaka), stone-boulders (silāṭhubha) and stone-pillars (silāthambha). In the Bhabru Edict he has addressed himself to the Buddhist Church. In three of his edicts inscribed on three pillars, set up in Sarnath, Kauśāmbī and Sanchi, he has proclaimed his high authority to turn out all dissentient elements in the Buddhist Church and suppress schisms. His Sarnath Pillar Edict contains statements indicative of the fact that when it was issued, there were Buddhist Churches or Missions working among peoples in countries beyond and adjoining his dominions. Sarnath, Kauśāmbī and Sanchi are places forming halting stations of Dakṣhṇāpatha, the Southern Trade-Route. Barhut was situated in a jungle-tract lying at the point where this route extending southward from Kauśāmbī, turned westward, leading to Sanchi. The Pāli legends attribute to him the credit of building 84,000 Vihāras and redistributing the relics amongst them. The Avadāna stories, on the other hand, tend to create an impression that King Aśoka was the builder of 84,000 Dharmarājikas or Stūpas that shone forth all over India like so many autumn-clouds and enshrined the remains of the Buddha¹. In the Divyavādāna we read: "The king having made 84,000 boxes of gold, silver, crystal and lapis-lazuli, put the relics therein, and handed them over to the Yakshas along with 84,000 jars and the same number of plates or written records

¹ Divyavādāna, p. 381.

(paṭṭa). He let off these daring agents, commanding them to erect a Dharmarājika in any town, insignificant, best or average, in the great earth extending as far as the seas, wherever a crore filled (the jars). It happened that at Taxila alone 36 crores (were collected), compelling the agents, according to the king's command, to part with 36 boxes. The matter was referred to the king, and the king, anxious to see the relics distributed over a larger area, ordered them to spare just one box for the place where 35 crores or more (were collected)."¹

The difference in the two traditions cannot be removed unless it be supposed that by Vihāras were meant not the monasteries but resorts or places of pilgrimage attached to the different monasteries. The Divyavadāna story gives an account of King Aśoka's pious tour,² undertaken after the building of the Dharmarājikas. Under the guidance of Upagupta he visited all important places associated with the life of the Buddha, honouring each by building a sanctuary (chaitya)³ and making a largess of money, and when the pilgrim reached Jetavana, his attention was drawn to the Stūpas built there for the remains of Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Vāṭkula and Ānanda. The sanctuaries built by Aśoka, such as those at Lumbinī where the Buddha was born and at Sarnath where he delivered the first sermon, have survived to the present day and are all found to be towering monoliths and nothing else.³ If the word Vihāra be taken in its ordinary sense, one must understand that the relics were distributed among the different monasteries or saṅgharāmas, and the monks of the local monastery were the persons who sought and secured the help from princes and peoples to build the Stūpa with all its outer constructions and artistic designs. Though these monks made the plans and devised the ways and means to carry them into practice, the Stūpas were ascribed to Aśoka for the impetus given by him. If so, the Barhut Stūpa need not be supposed to have been built by King Aśoka or during his reign, the more cogent hypothesis being that the structure was built by the monks of the Barhut Church in a post-Aśokan time.

From its internal history one can easily infer that the Barhut sanctuary was not built in a day, but by successive steps, at intervals and according to opportunities. We can conceive a stage in its life when the mound was enclosed by a railing of rough-hewn stone, with four quadrants, four entrances, a square coping with certain

¹ Divyāvadāna, p. 381. The passage is quoted by M. Foucher in his *Icon. Bouddhique*, p. 55 f. n. See V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, p. 107.

² Divyāvadāna, pp. 389 foll.

³ The king's object was to mark each spot for the good of posterity (chihnāni kūryāṃ paśchimasyāṃ janatāyāṃ anugrahārtham). See Vincent A. Smith's *Asoka*, 3rd edition, *Indian Legend*. By Rādhyā-Dharmarājikā-chaityah were meant the stūpa and one-storey monastery beside the Rādhyā Pillar. Foucher's *Icon. Bouddhique*, p. 195).

ornamentation on its outer face, and some statues of demigods and demigoddesses on terminus pillars.

In the second stage, when the eastern terminus pillar of S. E. Quadrant was recorded to be the Barhut First Pillar and a gift of Chāpādevī, the wife of Revatīmitra, of Vidiśā, some alterations were made, as we have seen, resulting in the replacement of the right terminus pillar in each Quadrant by one connected with a Return, added at the time, and bearing a lion-statue guarding the approach, the inclusion of this pillar with one statue cut off within the Quadrant, the reproduction of the statue cut off on a face of another intermediate pillar, the curving of the Coping and its ornamentation with two borders, creeper-and-lotus-designs and Jātaka-scenes on its inner face, and the erection of two gates, probably those on the south and the north, each consisting of two plain pillars with square shafts. In this stage a few other statues of demigods and demigoddesses were carved on three out of four right terminus pillars in the Quadrants. It is also conceivable that the Copings over the Returns were of a square shape without any ornamentation, and had no other sculptures but the lion-statues in their outer ends; that some of the medallion-carvings with lotus-designs and flower-compositions appeared on some of the Quadrant Pillars and Rail-bars; and that the side or face of some of the left terminus pillars in Quadrants was as yet plain or without any statue. The artists employed hailed all from localities where Brāhmī was the current script. If Chāpādevī, the female donor of the First Pillar, were connected with a Śuṅga royal family in Vidiśā, as we believe she was, this stage must have been reached during the viceroyalty of Agnimitra. The First Pillar is sculptured with a scene of arrival of a royal procession carrying a relic-casket,¹ while a panel in the corresponding Coping-stone contains a scene of the same procession in progress.² The name of the king leading the procession is not mentioned. All are presumed to know it well who he was. If King Aśoka was meant here to be the leader, the Stūpa must have been well-known to the monks of Barhut as a structure built and enshrined during his reign. The rod of the standard is represented like an Aśokan pillar with a cylindrical shaft and a lotus-ornament³.

The third stage was reached during the reign of the same Śuṅga dynasty, when king Dhanabhūti erected the Gateways. He employed some artists, who hailed

¹ Scenes Nos. 17 (a), 17 (b)

² Scene No. 9 (a)

³ King Aśoka in his Minor Rock Edict II (Rupnath text), desires to see his royal proclamations permanently inscribed on pavata, silā-thubha and silā-thambha. By silā-thubha he meant stone-mound or mound-shaped hillock or boulder of stone, thambha being—thubha or thuba, i. e., thūpa, tope or cupola (Haragobinda Das T. Seth's Prakrit Dictionary Pāia-Sadda Mahāṇṇava, sub voce thūbha).

from a north-western region where Kharoshthī was the current script, to do the work. The Jambs of the E. Gateway show each a combination of four octagons and jointly support the ornamental arch containing a symbolical outline of the present life of the Buddha. The capital, lotus-ornament and crowning animal figures are distinctive features of Asokan monoliths that still linger in these jambs representing the richest combination and final development in the Barhut style of octagonal pillars. The upper continuations of the Gateway pillars contain four examples of Persepolitan columns, bearing a clear testimony to the work done by artists from the north-west. The balusters in the arch show a synthesis of Barhut octagons and Persepolitan pillars, the upper portions including the shafts remaining loyal to the Barhut style and the lower portions or bases corresponding to the Persepolitan.¹ The figures of lions on capitals of the jambs and those on the middle architrave are evidently copied from models in the Quadrant coping and yet clearly bear traces of the influence of lion-statues in the outer ends of the Returns. In the case of two Gateways, probably ornamental arches were superimposed upon pillars with square shafts, serving later as jambs. The pieces of these pillars that now remain bear sculptures representing some stories of the present and past of the Buddha's life.² These sculptures must have been carved by the same artists, since the pillars of Śuddhodana's palace, represented in the scene of renunciation³, are precisely of the same style and show the same technique as balusters in the arch of the E. Gateway. These artists must have also worked on the Great Railing, either fashioning some of the Pillars and Rail-bars, or carving new sculptures, or inserting new Pillars and Rails, in short, giving a finishing touch to the work of repair or decoration. The parts bearing evidence of their workmanship can be distinguished by the palæographic similarity of the labels inscribed there on with the inscriptions of Dhanabhūti on the Gateways. The king himself appears to have figured as a worshipper of the Bodhi on the lower architrave. The Railing pillars fashioned in the second stage can be broadly distinguished from those done in the third by battalions under lotus-arches in the upper border of upper half-medallions as contrasted with railing and other designs. Whether a little earlier or later, several sculptures must be connected with the third stage, particularly those Coping-panels, Pillar-statues and Medallion-carvings in the labels of which a special form of the Brāhmī letter for jā [𑀕] occurs,⁴ and those scenes in the square and oblong panels on the Return Pillars and Rails. In three of these square and oblong

¹ Scenes Nos. 18 and 19.

² Scene No. 18

³ Scene No. 13

⁴ The list is given passim.

panels we see a representation of pillars reminding one of Aśokan monoliths and the sculptured scenes themselves presuppose legends referring to Aśoka's pilgrimage to Bodh. Gayā and Kuśinārā. The scenes with the labels containing the special letter for jā and one of the Return Pillar scenes with a label referring to Vidūra and Pūrṇaka illustrate three of the ten lengthy Jātakas forming the 6th volume in Fausboll's edition of the Jātaka-Commentary. The square and oblong panels contain scenes based upon legends corresponding to certain episodes in the Lalita-Vistara, as well as representations of palatial mansions. These go to standardise the octagonal pillars as a Barhut style. Even among the scenic examples of Aśokan monoliths, there is one which is distinguished by an ornamental bracket. We cannot but agree with Dr. Kramrisch in thinking that the zenith of the Barhut art was reached in the carvings on the Prasenañit Pillar and in those sculptures in the Return Rail panels that were worked up on the same model.¹

The stage of palæography beyond Dhanabhūti's inscriptions on the Barhut Gateways is that of Brāhmī letters with mātrā, serifs or thickened tops appearing in inscriptions on the Gateways of the great Sanchi Stūpa. The stage of development beyond ornamentation and symbolism in the Barhut arches can be clearly traced in arches of the Sanchi Gateways.² The stage of abridgment beyond the Barhut Jātaka-scheme is represented by four separate sketches on the four Sanchi Gateways dating, according to Sir John Marshall, from 50 B. C. to the Christian era³. The Sanchi plastic representations begin where the Barhut sculptures end. If Tumbavana or Tubavana referred to in some of the Votive labels inscribed on the railing of the Sanchi Stūpa I, be the jungle-tract where Barhut is situated, the Stūpa at Barhut was well-known as a Buddhist sanctuary when this railing was constructed, completed or repaired.⁴ The Sanchi and other Bhilsa topes enshrine the relics of some distinguished Disciples of the Buddha, including among them those who were known to have been sent to Haimavata or Himalayan region as missionaries during the reign of King Aśoka, in his 18th regnal year.⁵ If it cannot be proved that all of these missionaries had predeceased King Aśoka or that the relics enshrined were deposited from time to time, these topes must be relegated to a post-Aśokan time.

¹ Discussed *passim*.

² See Plates VII-X in Foucher's *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*.

³ See details in Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Sanchi*.

⁴ This remark will hold good if tumba means a tope, and not an atabu or gourd.

⁵ See inscriptions in Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*. Geiger on the importance of the Relic-casket inscriptions in the Preface to his translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, p.XIX. Cf. *Buddhist India*, pp. 296-301.

So far as the life-history of the Barhut Railing is concerned, we are to conceive three stages, one of which is pre-Śuṅga and two fall within the Śuṅga period. The first stage is Mauryan but not necessarily Aśoka; it is probably post-Aśoka. The second or middle stage must be dated as early as 150 B.C., and the third or final as late as 100 B.C., half a century being sufficient, upon the whole, for the development of the Barhut plastic art from the First to the Prasenañit Pillar. The Lohapāsāda and the great Thūpa, built in Ceylon during the reign of King Duṭṭha-gāmaṇi and described in the Mahāvamsa and its Tīkā, are important in the history of Buddhism as an evidence of the development of art that took place just at the close of the Śuṅga-reign on the model of Barhut.

Apart from other details having their peculiar significance, the account of the Lohapāsāda is here important as indicating that the serpentine line on the Barhut Coping with lotus-blossoms and Jātaka-scenes in its undulations was meant to be a creeper (latā) and not a lotus-stalk¹: that the nets of gems, metals, bells and lotuses, the pillars surmounted by the figures of lions, tigers and other animals and by those of the gods, and the representations of the sun, the moon and the stars were among the means of decoration.²

The account of carvings in the relic-chamber of the great Thūpa has here a twofold importance :

(1) as setting forth a scheme of Jātaka similar to Barhut, and

(2) as giving a general idea of the details of ornamentation and a clue to identification of the figures of various deities, demigods and demigoddesses. As to the deities, demigods and demigoddesses figuring there, we have mention³ of

(1) four Great kings or Lokapālas represented as standing on four sides, thirty-three gods and thirty-two goddesses, thirty-two youthful goddesses with torches of gold in their hands, placed between thirty-three youthful gods, according to the Commentary ;

(2) twenty-eight Yaksha generals, and, above them, the deities with joined hands, those holding lotus and othes flowers, and those holding the jars filled with water ;

¹ Mahāvamsa, XXVII. 34 :—

Nānāratanapadumā tattha tattha yathārahaṃ,

Jātakāni cha tatth'eva āsum soṇṇalatantare.

Dr. Geiger translates : "lotus-blossoms made of various gems were fitly placed here and there and Jātaka-
tales in the same place within a festoon of gold,

² Mahāvamsa, XXVII. 27-33.

³ Mahāvamsa, XXX. 89-94.

(3) the heavenly dancers, the deities playing on musical instruments, the fierce-looking deities, added in the Commentary, the deities bearing mirrors, and likewise those holding bunches of flowers ;

(4) the deities holding lotus, and various other deities—the Sun, the Moon, those bearing umbrellas and the rest as the Commentary puts it ;

(5) the deities carrying the message of Dharma (dhammahārakā) mentioned in the Commentary ;

(6) the rows of deities holding swords, and those of deities with vessels filled with fragrant oil and placed on their heads.

49. Ancestry :—It is a received opinion that from the third century B. C. onward the Buddhist sanctuary with the Stūpa in its centre was a stereotyped edifice of brick or stone, presupposing, as M. Foucher puts it,¹ the art of the architect and utilising that of the sculptor, that the mound itself was surrounded by a high barrier, at first of stone, then directly imitated in stone from its wooden prototype. No one can deny that the construction of the Great Railing and of the Gateways presupposes a wooden model. The examples of wooden architecture have already been found in the old site of Pāṭaliputra. That the work of the wood-carver preceded that of the stone-cutter in Indian art as a hypothesis which explains the disappearance of all the earlier monuments and masonry work where the material used must have been of a perishable character. The pre-eminence of the wood-carver in the field of art in earlier times is clear from the expressions in the Viśvakarmaṇa-hymns of the R̥g-Veda (X. 168-69) in which the divine architect is evidently represented as a builder in wood, it being asked—What is the tree or wood (vṛksha, vana) out of which this universe was fashioned, or what is the plank which supports the same ? But in the absence of an actual relic of wooden construction at Barhut, it would be just a pious guess to suppose that the present Railing with its Gateways came into existence by replacing an older wooden enclosure. The famous E. Gateway erected by King Dhanabhūti with its lower pillars of four octagons each, was not preceded by a wooden gate, but rather by the gate of stone without the arch, consisting of two pillars, each of which was a four-sided upright, with sculptures belonging to the general Railing scheme. The internal history of our Railing enables us to pass back from stone to stone, but there is absolutely no trace of anything older to show if stone had at all replaced wood as a building material at Barhut.

¹The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, pp. 33-34, 65-66.

50. How the stone speaks :—In one of the Vedic hymns the poet appears to have been inspired to make the stone speak. This aspiration of his was fulfilled when stone came to be substituted for wood as art-material in Buddhist sanctuaries, when with the progress of the lapidary art the chisel of the stone-cutter was sufficiently sharpened and the hardness of stone lost its resisting power. We may fancy that the old Indian wood-carver having lost ground in his motherland, sought new fields in Further India and China, where he still maintains his prestige and high proficiency in his technical skill.

51. Language :—The language of our story-teller, precisely like that of a human being, consists of Writing, Speech and Gesture. The alphabets noting the masons' private marks and recording the inscriptions represent Writing as the first form of language. The inscription incised for recording the gifts and indexing the the Jātaka-scenes represents Speech, the second form. The Jātaka-scenes and other sculptural representations, serving as various artistic illustrations of the tale, represent Gesture, the third form.



52. Theme and Divisions :—The theme of the interesting tale our story-teller has got to tell is Indian life, civilisation and Buddhism, touching all the aspects and picturing the environments, domestic and academic, social and religious, moral and intellectual, economic and political, in which these grew up and changed. The divisions of the tale are to be conceived according to the exclusive or independent, the mixed or combined, and the special use of the means of expression.



53. Exclusive use of writing : The letters denoting masons' private marks represent the exclusive use of Writing. Four Kharoshthī letters, pa, sa, a and ba met with on the bases and capitals of the balusters of the ornamental arch of the E. Gateway, the first three occurring twice, serve no other earthly purpose than that of masons' marks. As Cunningham suggests, these are but initials of words denoting certain numerals, the pa of pancha (five), the sa of satta (seven), the a of aṭṭha (eight) and the ba of bārasa (twelve). The twenty-seven marks found on different parts of the great Railing consist all of Brāhmī letters. The only legitimate inference to be drawn from this difference is that the masons or craftsmen employed to erect the Gateway must have hailed from a north-western region of India where Kharoshthī was the prevalent form of script.





54. Mixed use of Writing :—The Brāhmī alphabet occurring in the Votive and Jātaka labels in general represents the mixed use of Writing. This alphabet consists of such vowels as a, ā, i, u, ū and e, such consonants as ka, kha,



ga, gha cha, chha, ja, jha, ña, ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa, ta, tha, da, dha, na, pa, pha, ba, bha, ma, ya, ra, la, va, sa, ha, such conjoint consonants as kra, dra, nha, bra, mha and hma, and such signs as for the vowels ā, ī, ū, e, o, au, and ṁ.



The development of this alphabet is to be traced within half a century from the middle of the second century B. C. Though the labels were inscribed by different engravers, including those who were habituated to writing the Kharoshthī alphabet, certain trends of development in the forms of letters can easily be detected. As compared with the general system of Aśokan alphabet one may observe that what were exceptions in the Aśokan have tended here to become the rule.

In the Aśokan system the vowel a is generally represented by a vertical intersected in the middle by the angle of the two arms (). Here the system is at once conspicuous by the absence of this form, and one has instead a form in which the angle just meets the vertical in the middle precisely as in the Roman k (inverted). This form is rarely met with in the Aśokan system. But this again marks just the starting point of a process of formation culminating by steps in a remarkable form in which the two arms meet the vertical leaving a space between them ().

In the Aśokan system ka makes a perfect plus sign with the vertical and horizontal strokes of equal length (). Here, too, in the majority of cases the form is the same. But starting from this one has to trace a process that ultimately yields a form in which the lower part of the vertical stroke has tended to become elongated giving the letter the shape of a hanging sword ().

In the Aśokan system both ga () and ta () go to make a sharp angle. Here the self-same form marks the first stage starting from which one may at last come across a form in which the apex of the angle has tended to become rounded by degrees giving the letter the shape of the Roman (U) inverted () ().

In the Aśokan system chha is formed by a circle bisected by a vertical stroke (). Here starting from this very form one may reach imperceptibly another in which the letter has come to represent what Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda would call a butterfly type ().

In the Aśokan system bha has a form in which two separate vertical strokes meet the horizontal from two sides, leaving a space between them (), while here the general tendency is to merge the two strokes in a single vertical line (). And

starting from this very form one meet at last with a type in which the lower part of the vertical line has tended to become elongated (𑀩).

In the Aśokan system ra is generally represented by an ornamental cork-screw type (𑀢), and it is only in an irregular type that it approaches a straight line (𑀣). Here, curiously enough, the irregular has become the regular type and the regular, irregular, the general Aśokan form being met with in just two rare instances, namely, in the kra (𑀭) of ūkraṃti and the dra (𑀢𑀭) of Jeṭhabhadra.

In the Aśokan system the common type of ha has a small horizontal line attached to the right shorter arm, a little below its top (𑀦). In the other type the short horizontal line is attached to the top of the shorter arm (𑀧). The second type makes here the exclusive type.

Without multiplying instances it may be noticed that here the system still keeps to the Aśokan and differs from the later system in so far as none of the letters has yet a straight base.¹

55. Special use of Writing :—Some of the special letters occurring in the inscriptions attached to a certain number of sculptured scenes and figures represent the special use of Writing. These enable one to detect and classify the carvings done by different sculptors or groups of artists. One of them is a special form of jā consisting of a jā with a vowel sign for ā in the upper half (𑀪) or with two vowel signs for ā (𑀫). This occurs in the following labels attached to the scenes and figures mentioned against them :—

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|----------|---------------|---------------|
| (a) | Haṃsa-Jātakam, | Return | Coping-panel, | Scene No. 91. |
| (b) | Kinara-Jātakam, | " | " | " No. 125. |
| (c) | Rājā Pasenajī Kosalo, | Return | Pillar-Panel, | Scene No. 52. |
| (d) | Erāpato Nāgarājā, | " | " | " No. 69. |
| (e) | Nāga-Jātakam, | Quadrant | " | " No. 107. |
| (f) | Miga-Jātakam, | " | " | " No. 126. |
| (g) | Chhadamtiya-Jātakam, | " | " | " No. 128. |
| (h) | Isisimgiya-Jātakam, | " | " | " No. 131. |
| (i) | Yavamajhakiya-Jātakam, | " | " | " No. 137. |
| (j) | Chakavāko Nāgarājā, | " | Statue | " No. 70. |

The second is a special form of chha representing a butterfly type with two loops. This occurs in the following inscriptions, all of which are attached to

¹ For detailed study vide Barua and Sinha's Barhut Inscriptions, pp. 101—112.

two connected scenes sculptured on the outer side of the same Return terminus pillar, viz., the Presenajit :—

- (a) Chha Kāmāvachharasahasānī, Scene No. 33.
 (b) Alambusā achharā, Misakosī achharā, } Scene No. 34.
 Padumāvati achharā, Subhadā achharā, }

Similarly it can be shown that among the artists who carved the Jātaka-scenes in the Quadrant Coping-panels, there were some who hailed from a region where the anchor-shaped ya (卐) was in use, while the others from those parts of India where the common Barhut type (卐) was prevalent.

56. Exclusive use of Speech :—The Votive labels incised on the Railing and Gateways represent the exclusive use of Speech. These are made use of for acknowledging as well as commemorating the gifts or donations received from different donors. The receipts are legibly inscribed precisely on those parts for which the contributions were made. With the exception of the Coping, the remaining component parts, including the Gateways or ornamented arches, are actually mentioned in some of the labels, the Gateways invariably,¹ and the Pillars² and Rail-bars³ occasionally. The following examples will make the point clear :—

- (a) As found on the lower pillar of E. Gateway :—

“Within the dominion of the Śuṅgas the gateway has been caused to be made and the workmanship in stone produced by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, the son of ‘Gotiputa Āgaraju’ and grandson of King Gārgīputra Viśvadeva.”

- (b) As found on the Railing pillars and Rail-bars.—

“The gift of Phalgudeva from Vidiśā.”

“The pillar-gift of the Noble Master Panthaka.”

“The gift of Dharmagupta—a pillar.”

“The gift of Ghoshā.”

“The rail-gift of Ṛishirakshita.”

“The gift of Saṅghila—a rail-bar.”

The very opening words of the acknowledgments on the Gateway-pillars indicate the location of the Railing, that it was situated within the dominion of the Śuṅgas, who came into power about the middle of the 2nd century B. C., and held sway over northern India with their capital at Pāṭaliputra or Patna. The name of

¹ Barua Sinha, Nos. 1-3.

² Barua Sinha, Nos. 4-48a

³ Barua Sinha, Nos. 49-117.

King Dhanabhūti, the donor of the Gateway or ornamented arches, has been mentioned along with those of his parents and grand-parents, his grandfather Viśvadeva being referred to as a king. This goes to show that this royal dynasty was in power for upwards of two generations. There is one acknowledgment on a Rail-bar¹ stating that it was a gift of Prince Vādhapāla or Vṛiddhapāla, the son of King Dhanabhūti, and there is another² recording one of the Rail-bars to be a gift of Nāgarakshitā, probably the wife of the same king. This is a clear evidence to prove that some of the Rail-bars were set in the Railing at the time when King Dhanabhūti erected the Gateways or at least the ornamental arches. Just a generation after, Dhanabhūti's grandson, King Dhanabhūti II, dedicated, evidently following the tradition of his predecessors, the gift of a Buddhist gateway at Mathurā, which enables one to surmise that this royal dynasty continued to be in power for some generations after Dhanabhūti I, and that its seat of power was in Mathurā or a country near about. From the inscriptions it is not at all clear or conclusive that the kings of this dynasty were feudatories to the Śuṅgas. That which is clear and conclusive is that some of them, if not all, were Buddhists, or, at all events, active supporters of the Buddhist faith. In Dhanabhūti's dedicatory inscriptions the kings have been distinguished by certain matronymics, the son by Queen Gārgī, and so forth, their mothers being called by some notable gotras or families of culture, viz., Gārgī, of Garga ; Goti, of Gota ; Vātsī of Vatsa. Dr. Bühler rightly observes that the use of matronymics as distinctive epithets only proves the prevalence of polygamy in Hindu society, particularly among the kings and princes.

There is no reason to doubt that the Railing with Gateways owed its existence to and reached its completion under the fostering care of Buddhist monks and nuns of the local Saṅghārāma, the traces of which lingered in the midst of the ruins of the Stūpa. The early existence of this monastery is evident from one of the Votive inscriptions recording, as it seems, the gift of a nun of the local monastic abode—Avāsikāya bhikhuniyā dānam.³ The Buddhist teachers of this monastery must have been persons well-known, honoured and trusted throughout the country. One can presume that it is by the influence of this holy body of trustees that several gifts in the shape of donations and materials flowed in from the four quarters, from the monks and nuns, all of whom were Buddhists, the Buddhist laity consisting of both men and women, the princes and artisans, and other persons, as well as collective bodies of wealthy

¹ Barua Sinha, No. 103.

² Barua Sinha, No. 115.

³ Barua Sinha, Nos. 29, 125.

citizens. Among the localities of the donors, those which were of importance and can now be identified comprise Pāṭaliputra (Patna) in the extreme north-east, Kauśāmbī (Kosam) on the Yamunā in the extreme north, Chekula (Caul near Bombay), Karahakaṭa (Karhad in Sattara District), and the port of Śrīputra in the extreme south-west, and Purikā, Bhogavardhana, Nāsika and Paḍela (Pandaria in Bilaspur District). The places to the south of the Narmadā were included in the kingdom of the Andhra rulers of the Deccan. It is under the patronage of the successors of these rulers, namely, the Sātavāhanas, that the Buddhist Saṅghārāmas at Nasik and Sanchi, belonging to different Buddhist sects, were maintained. There are also places, such as Bhojakaṭa (in Vidarbha, Berar), Asitamasā, Paḍela (Pandaria in Bilaspur district) and the rest, which were evidently included in the region to the north of the Vindhya mountain.¹ Omitting Pāṭaliputra in the north-east and Mathurā in the south-west, the remaining localities were situated within the regions now covered by Bombay Presidency and Central Province. Seeing that no place of the Punjab is mentioned, one may be led to imagine that this region was then under the sway of some rival power, unfriendly towards the cause espoused by the Buddhist teachers at Barhut. It may not be impossible that the political supremacy was at the time contested by these three rival powers. viz., the Śuṅgas of the north-east, the Andhras of the south and the Bactrian Greeks or Scythian hordes of the north-west.

From this list of places one can form an idea of the wider extension of Buddhism in India during the period when the Barhut Stūpa was built and its Railings and Gateways were erected. Buddhism was no longer a local movement of the central region in the north, but spread, far and wide, reaching as far as the western coast in Bombay, and reached, after crossing the Vindhya range as far south as the Godāvarī and Narmadā regions. One cannot expect such a state of things as this before the reign of Aśoka. In reality, one must ascribe this wider propagation of the religion to the missionary organisation of the Buddhist emperor, the liberal state-support given by him to the Buddhist movement and other efforts, too well-known to be discussed at length.

The reader must have followed the trend of the tale far enough to be able to realise that the erection of the Buddhist shrine with all its ornamental designs, carved bold and deep, was after all a most costly affair. The Buddhist Chronicles, particularly those of Ceylon, tell us that King Aśoka had to call upon all his subjects and subordinate potentates to raise money for the erection of 84,000 Buddhist edifices, while the Buddhist legends of India

¹ Barua Sinha, Notes on localities, pp. 125 foll.

go to show that, in spite of all voluntary or compulsory contributions, the king had to exhaust his imperial treasury for the purpose. There is an inscription recording the amount required for the simple purchase of Prince Jeta's garden near Śrāvastī, ultimately converted into the site of a Buddhist monastery. It says that the Buddhist Banker Anāthapiṇḍika had to pay to the owner of the park crores (of gold pieces) in cash.¹ Even leaving a fair margin for exaggerations, the fact stands out that the construction of a Buddhist edifice such as the Barhut Stūpa with its railing and gateways was not an easy affair, within the reach of one generation, of one or two men, however rich.

Now the question arises—by what method or methods the donations were collected. The Votive labels afford instances where the Buddhist *dāyakas* of Purikā collectively offered a donation. It cannot be supposed that all of them happened to visit Barhut at the same time. There must have been some local agent or some one sent from Barhut to raise subscriptions. The same holds true of another case where the citizens of a town made a gift.² In this latter case, one cannot suppose that all the donors were Buddhists. There is a third instance where two ladies of the same family and a gentleman, certainly related to them, made these gifts, consecutively recorded. All of them hailed from Pāṭaliputra. From the manner of description it is clear that the ladies came to the place on pilgrimage under the escort of the man.³ The rows of recesses for lights at the base of the Stūpa bear evidence of an elaborate arrangement for illumination. One must, indeed, presume that fairs, festivals, illuminations and other religious demonstrations helped the monks to attract annually a large number of pilgrims and heighten the importance of the place.

But is it not strange that the monks and nuns, who are supposed not to touch money, are included among the donors? If they had no savings of their own, how could they make these contributions? It is difficult to surmise anything positively on this point, though the traditions of the time make it clear that much controversy was then going on in Buddhist churches about the legality of handling and hoarding money by the members of the Buddhist religious order.

By the 2nd or 1st century B. C., the history of Buddhism had far outgrown its two earlier stages, namely, that represented by the career of the Master, and that by the career of the Apostles. That is to say, it reached the third stage marked by

¹ Barua Sinha, No. 161.

² *Karahakaṭṭa-nigamasa dānaṃ*.

³ *Pāṭaliputā Nāgasenāya Koḍiyāniyā dānaṃ*.

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Pāṭaliputā Mahādasenasa dānaṃ.

development of the Churches. Not only that. It is in a position to say that the Saṅghārāmas of the different Buddhist churches, like the Christian monasteries in Europe during the Middle Ages, became centres of religious education and polite learning. So far as India is concerned, these educational institutions were liberally supported by the people, irrespective of castes and creeds. The erection of stūpas, railings and gateways served only to create an artistic atmosphere. Please note the personnel of each church. It consisted, as appears from the list of its donors, of monks, nuns and dāyakas. Note that the dāyakas are no mere upāsakas and upāsikās, that is, mere admirers and occasional supporters of the new movement. Mark that some of them have adopted or retained Buddhistic names, e. g., Stūpadāsa, Bodhi, Bodhigupta, Buddharakshita, Dharmarakshita¹ Dharmagupta, Saṅgharakshita, Saṅghamitra, and the like. See that such prefixes as Bhadanta, Gentle Sir, Ārya, Noble Master, and Bhadanta-Ārya, Gentle and Noble Master, have been freely used to denote church-dignitaries. Observe that the nuns are simply referred to as "Bhikhunis" or "Bhichunis," which is not the case in all of the labels elsewhere. One can easily guess if they were not accorded an inferior position in the particular church connected with the Barhut tradition.

Some or most of the names of monks and nuns go to show that on being ordained they were given Buddhistic names replacing those given by their parents. This was in practice a departure from the older tradition where Buddha's followers retained their quondam names, such as Rāhula, Ānanda, Śāriputra and Vāṣiṣa. Though, in theory, it was a more logical carrying out of the Master's wish to organise an ideal order, ignoring the previous social names and ranks, bonds and ties³, it was at the same time an adaptation to the Brahmanist conception of a second birth, having at its back a natural analogy from bird-life. Now the distinctive epithets have a peculiar message of their own. The fact that the laics are distinguished as dāyakas is a clear evidence that they were kept outside the pale of the Buddhist Saṅgha, while according to the Buddha's own idea, a Bhikshu or a householder, who mastered certain stages of sanctification to be called Ārya, was ipso facto a constituent of the Saṅgha and not simply one formally ordained. Among the Bhikshus, there were some bearing the epithet Navakarmika, a church-functionary, whose business it was to supervise the construction of a new Buddhist edifice or monument. There were among the laity some employed as church-functionaries in a monastery, such a Bhattodeśaka, whose business it was to distribute food. There were among the monks, the Bhāṇakas or Reciters who rehearsed, got by heart, and orally

¹ Barua Sinha, Notes on names, pp. 120 foll. ² Baruas Sinha, No. 5. ³ Aṅguttara Nikāya, IV. p. 202.

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¹ Barua Sinha, Notes on names, pp. 120 foll. ² Baruas Sinha, No. 5. ³ Aṅguttara Nikāya, IV. p. 202.

handed down the traditions of the Buddhists. The schools of such Bhāṇakas, as appears from Buddhaghosha's account, arose soon after the Buddha's demise. The institution of these bodies of Reciters survived till the time of the construction of our railing, which means that the Buddhist texts were not till then committed to writing.¹ There were also among the monks, the Peṭakīs who knew the Piṭaka by heart, as well as the Sautrāntikas, well-versed in the Sūtras. Even among the laity there were persons who bore the epithet Pañchanaikāyika, the Master of the Five Nikāyas.²

The term Piṭaka wherefrom Peṭaki was derived is suggestive of a double metaphor of a basket for carrying earth from head to head, that is, from teacher to teacher, and of a pit or box, where the whole thing is deposited or closed. The biological expression Nikāya, as applied to literature, denotes a distinct division or body having an independent identity. These epithets are a clear evidence of the fact that a Buddhist Canon with its division into Piṭakas and five Nikāyas was well-known in the 2nd or 1st century B. C. Seeing that Nikāya is not used in this sense by any other Buddhist sect than Sthaviravāda, one need not be surprised that the Barhut donor with the scriptural epithet Pañchanekāyika belonged to this sect. How could it be that even the laics were repositories of textual traditions? The best explanation is that they were persons who reverted to household-life from the monasteries, retaining their knowledge of the texts, as well as their monastic names. Such cases are not unknown even among the Buddhists of to-day.

The facts supplied by our railing are not adequate to give one an idea of the social condition of the Buddhist laity. It is difficult to say if there was at the time any Indian Buddhist community or caste, within which inter dining and intermarriage were confined, though there were beginnings of such social processes, particularly where the whole tribe or the whole population of a place professed the religion. Along with these social processes there was a national process of identification of men's existence with a place. So and So—the Selapuraka,—the man of Sailapura, So and So—the Therākūṭiya, the man of Sthavirakūṭa, and so forth. The personal names of the donors clearly show that Deva, Datta, Sena, Gupta, Mitra, Rakshita, and Pālita are not used yet as surnames. These are parts of so many compounds. It is very curious that the Barhut set of names is now conspicuous by its absence among the members of Brahmin caste. It is still more curious that in Bengal the Hindu castes where Deva, Rakshita, Pālita and the like are current as surnames have a much lower social status at the present day. Thus even behind these names and surnames one gets the scent of sectarian narrowness. Stūpadāsa is

¹ Barua Sinha, No. 18. ² Buddhist India, p. 167. Barua Sinha, Nos. 18, 39, 91, 101.

the single name where we trace the distinct influence of shrine-worship in popular Buddhism, and a clear trace of the Bhāgavatic spirit. Most of the names, other than those connected with religion or religious personages and orders, are yet of astrological or astronomical import, Revatīmitra, Bharanīdeva, Pushyā, Śravaṇā, and the like. Here Revatī, Bharanī, Pushyā, and the rest are names of important constellations of stars.¹

57. Mixed use of Speech :—The inscriptions attached to the sculptured scenes and figures represent the mixed use of Speech. A fairly large number of these inscriptions serve as labels for the artistic illustrations of the tale. Here the labels constitute a distinctive feature of the Barhut representations. For, strangely enough, all the later Buddhist sculptures and frescoes, such as those found at Bodhi Gayā, Sāñchi, Mathurā, Taxila, Amarāvati, Sarnath, Karle and Ajantā, stand without them. On the other hand, the old system of indexing the Jātaka-carvings by appropriate labels was faithfully adhered to and has continued to operate in such Buddhist countries as Ceylon and Burma. For instance, the illustrated Jātaka-episodes around the different ancient Pagodas in Pagan are carefully indexed by labels, each of which is expressive of the nature of the theme. At Barhut some of the Jātaka-scenes and the statues of the demi-gods and demi-goddesses are inscribed, and some are not. Some of the labels accurately describe the subjects of illustrations, some refer to the actions, some to the individual actors, some to the places of actions, and some to the notable points in the artistic designs. In short, the labels are far from being used consistently and systematically. What is the reasonable explanation for this? One might suggest that the carvings were labelled when the legends and deities were not sufficiently familiar to be recognised from their sculptural representations and these ceased to be labelled when the legends and deities became sufficiently familiar. But the Barhut examples do not enable us to say that the sculpture which was less intelligible was only inscribed, and that which was easily intelligible was not so. The Barhut artists were not very judicious in their use of the labels. For in the same row of Coping-panels one finds that if a scene in one panel is inscribed, the one in the next panel is not so. And yet in reviewing the sculptures in the lump one is apt to feel that in theory all were intended to be labelled, the omissions being due to oversight or negligence on the part of the artists. Thus if the Barhut examples are worth for anything, they serve to indicate a transitional stage when the practice of labelling the sculptures became optional. Unfortunately, we have no

¹ Some other points of interest are dealt with by Dr. Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, Sāñchi Stūpa Inscriptions, pp. 95-96, and by Dr. H. Hilka in his book on Indian Personal names.

older remains of Indian plastic art to convince us of the fact that in an earlier stage the labelling of the sculptures and statues was the universal practice. One of the Kalsi stones bearing a particular version of Aśoka's XIth Rock Edict was sculptured with the figure of an elephant which has a short label *Gajatame* (The Noblest Elephant) incised under it¹. This figure, as suggested by Dr. Bühler, represents the Buddha who descended, according to Buddhist legends, into his mother's womb in the guise of a white elephant, the noblest of his race. There are two other elephant figures, one on the Girnar rock² and the other on the Dhau³, both bearing similar inscriptions, the one on the Dhau rock bearing the label *Seto* (The white Elephant). There is another earlier example, found at the ancient site of Pāṭaliputra, where a human statue is inscribed with a label. But these are isolated examples of inscribed statues, too few to indicate the characteristic tendency of an age. And if they prove anything, it is no more than the fact that the statues only were invariably inscribed.

58. Special use of Speech :—The wording of the inscriptions, Votive and Jātaka, represents the special use of Speech. The orthography of the inscriptions on the Gateway pillars differs in some essential points from that of the main bulk of inscriptions on the Railing. In the former the dental nasal (*n*) is replaced by the cerebral (*ṇ*), and in the latter the cerebral is replaced by the dental. In the former orthography one comes across the use of the diphthong (*au*), e.g., *pauṭeṇa*. The predilection for the cerebral nasal argues a closer connection of the dialect of the Gateway labels with the Jaina Prakrit which, as will be evident from a large body of inscriptions, influenced the dialects of the Mathurā region. The same can be inferred from the text of another inscription incised in the time of King Dhanabhūti, whose inscriptions occur on the Gateway pillars. In this inscription the name of Dhanabhūti's son has been recorded as *Vādhapāla*, *Vādha* corresponding to *Vṛiddha*. *Vādha* or *Vadha* as an equivalent of *Vṛiddha* is also used in the Hāthigumphā inscription of the Jaina king Khāravela. The Pāli, too, has *Vaddha* for *Vṛiddha*. But this is met with only as an archaic form and older Prakrit survival in the gāthās or verses, the standard Pāli form, as used in prose, being *Vuḍḍha*. The grammatical peculiarities and phonetic changes enable one to detect in the Barhut inscriptions a monumental Prakrit with a marked tendency to conform to the Pāli diction.⁴ The texts of the Jātaka labels go to show that the scriptural source of the Barhut artists was not in all cases the Pāli but one of mixed character, with

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 460; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, p. 50. ² *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, p. 26. ³ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, p. 92. ⁴ Barua Sinha, Notes, pp. 112—119.

the predominance of the Pāli elements. These presuppose, upon the whole, an independent selection of legends and episodes that were derived mainly from a source like the Pāli, while of the remaining legends and episodes, some can be traced now only in the Lalita-Vistara, some in the Mahāvastu, some only in the Avadānaśataka, some only in the Jātakamālā, some only in the Divyāvadāna and Avadānakalpalatā, and some quite peculiar to the Barhut authority. A few examples will suffice :—

- (a) Bhagavato Vesabhuno Bodhi Sālo [Barhut].
Vessabhussa bhagavato Sālarukkho Bodhi [Jātaka-Commentary].
- (b) Idasālaguhā [Barhut].
Sakkapañhasamāgamo Indasālaguhāyaṃ [Milinda-Pañha].
- (c) Bhagavato chūḍāmaho [Barhut].
Deveshu chūḍāmaho [Lalita-Vistara].
- (d) Tiramī timigila-kuchimha Vasuguto māchīto [Barhut].
Baṇijah [timigila-] mahāgrāhamukhād vinīrmuktaṃ...tīram anuprāptam [Divyāvadāna].
- (e) Atanā marata [Barhut].
Attanā marantā [Dhammapada-Commentary].
- (f) Sechha-Jātaka [Barhut].
Dubhiyamakkaṭṭa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Commentary].
- (g) Migasamadaka-chetaya [Barhut].
Vyaggha-Jātaka [Jātaka-Commentary].

The same can be inferred from the grammatical inflexions and phonetic variations, e. g., Vipasino (Barhut), Vipassissa (Pāli), Vipasyino (Divyāvadāna), Vipasyine (Mahāvastu) ; Konāgamenasa (Barhut), Koṇāgamanassa (Pāli), Kaṇakamunisya (Mahāvastu), Kaṇakamuneḥ (Divyāvadāna) ; Vesabhuno (Barhut), Vessabhussa (Pāli), Viśvabhuvah (Divyāvadāna and Mahāvastu).

There are some instances where the labels were worded at the suggestion of the donors, some where these were worded according to suggestions from some Buddhist teachers who supervised the work of the artists, and some where the artists themselves framed the texts according to their own caprice or discretion.

59. Mixed use of Gesture :—The artistic representations, accompanied by inscribed labels, represent the mixed use of Gesture. These consist mostly of carvings or bas-reliefs depicting various scenes from the Buddha's life. These illustrated scenes, so far as they can be identified partly with the aid of the labels, unfold a definite and comprehensive scheme of the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni,

comprising the selected stories of the present (*pachchuppannavatthu*) and those of the past (*atītavatthu*), and preventing reduplication. The scenes and stories forming the biographical scheme are introduced only by way of illustration of the Buddhist doctrine inculcating the equality of all the Buddhas, the implication being that the incidents of the life of any one Buddha are virtually the same as those of any other Buddha. Thus it will appear that the biographical scheme is subservient to the doctrinal.

(1) The first group of scenes relating to the doctrinal scheme comprises the separate representations of Bodhi-Trees of the seven Buddhas, one of them being missing. The labels attached to these representations, including the missing one referring to the Bodhi-Tree of the Buddha Śikhī, are as follows :—

"The Bodhi of the Divine Master Vipāśchit."

["The Bodhi of the Divine Master Śikhī."]

"Śāla—the Bodhi of the Divine Master Viśvabhṛt."

"The Bodhi of the Divine Master Kakutsandha."

"The Bodhi of the Divine Master Koṇāgamana."

"The Bodhi of the Divine Master Kāśyapa."

"The Bodhi of the Divine Master Śākyamuṇi."¹

Each of these representations contains a special scene of worship and perambulation on the historic spot of the enlightenment of a Buddha, the living memory of which is hallowed by the presence of a cubical jewel-seat of stone, called Bodhimāṇḍa or Vajrāsana and that of a Bodhi-Tree, Pāṭali, Puṇḍarīka, Śāla, Śirisha, Udumbara, Nyagrodha or Asvattha, with flower-garlands hanging from its branches and joints, bunches of fruits or flowers adorning its well-shaped foliage, and umbrellas serving as canopies at the top. The seat is a representation of the one upon which a Buddha was seated cross-legged and in the same calm posture, overcame all overwhelming forces of external nature, all pinching privations of the body, all immoral tendencies of the internal nature, all tormenting passions of the heart, all inborn predilections of the mind, all stubborn obtuseness of the intellect, and all deep-rooted influences of the tradition, and ultimately saw the light and obtained the bliss. The tree is a representation of the one at the foot of or under which a Buddha became a Buddha². The seat of stone is symbolical of the firmness of the will to do or die, to conquer and transcend. Its cubical shape is reminiscent of the Vedic altar which was a geometrical representation of the four-sided earth as known to the ancients. The jewel-ornament distinguishes it as a work of art from

¹ Scenes Nos. 26-32. ² *Yassa mūle yassa rukkhassa hetthā*, *Sumaṅgala—Vilāsini*, Siamese Ed., II. p. 13.

the ordinary cubical heap of earth attached to a woodland-shrine. The tree is the one which is associated in the popular superstition with demoniac possession (*yaksha-parigraha*) and spirit-haunting (*devatādhivāsa*). The flower-garlands replace the pieces of linen thread tied round or suspended from the tree as the sign of promise for making offerings on the fulfilment of wishes. The offerings consist of flowers and fruits as distinguished from the bloody sacrifices, including the slaughter of human beings and staining the sacred altar. The umbrellas indicate the royal majesty of the tree which reigns on the spot as the very lord of the forest. The well-shaped foliage and shady bower of the trim-boughed tree are indicative of the greatness of the Buddha and his religion as the true shelter or refuge for the afflicted humanity and other beings. The scene of worship is enlivened by the aroma of celestial fragrance and the presence of the heavenly beings. Here is a joyous situation in the midst of serene calm, where earth and heaven, gods and men, kings and peasants, men and women, and the high and the low meet, pay homage and participate in a common worship. The worshippers have a noble demeanour and a calm disposition. They are gently dressed, their behaviour is courtier-like, and their kneeling attitude and mode of salutation are heroic or warrior-like. The element of fear or the love of gain inducing the common people to make offerings is sought to be dispensed with by creating a changed situation and a new historical association where the usurping demons and the indwelling spirits themselves are busy protecting the sanctuary consecrating the treasured memory of the highest human triumph. The spot is the very navel of the earth,—the greatest centre of human attraction which is well-protected¹ by the kings with walls, towers and ramparts, and marked with a monumental stone-pillar. The sanctuary is technically a *Pāribhogika-chetiya*, enshrining as it does the things actually enjoyed or used by a Buddha, and are, therefore, inseparably associated with his life and memory. The seat is vacant because the enshrinement is merely that of an historical association, which is not a material thing or a corporeal embodiment. The worship, introduced just to meet the urgent popular demand, is yet based upon an earlier injunction occurring, for instance, in the introductory discourse and anecdote of the *Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka* (F. 479). In later times the Buddha-image appeared indeed enshrined on the earlier vacant throne, and conceding to the similar popular demand for a concrete form for worship. The concession was made, though the enshrined image was not at all meant to stand as a bust or statue but only as an object of reference (*uddesika*), created by imagination (*manamattaka*), an ideal form having no positive background

¹ Scene No. 50.

(*avatthuka*), the art making the human shape just a mode of the mind's expression. In the Barhut representations the exalted mode of religious homage is based upon that hero-worship which is the most primitive and universal element in all religions. Each representation is theoretically intended to depict a scene of enlightenment marking the great turning point in the life of a noble ascetic aspiring and striving for the Buddhahood and supreme leadership. But it must appear from the presence of the Triratna and Dharmachakra symbols in some of the representations that here the Bodhi Tree and Throne symbolise the whole life and career of a Buddha. The Barhut representations are evidently based upon the legends of the seven Buddhas in the *Mahāpadāna* Discourse; while the aspects of worship presuppose an earlier Discourse like the *Mahā-āṭāṇāṭiya*. The *Mahāpadāna* Discourse inculcates a doctrine, called *Buddhuppāda-dhammatā*, which teaches that the evolution of the Buddha types of human personality is the outcome of a natural process, reducible into a determinate causal order or reality. This doctrinal scheme with some of the biographical details is set forth in this famous Suttanta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*. The wording of the labels, however, shows that the Barhut scenes are based upon a later *Jātaka*-tradition, holding fast to the *Mahāpadāna* legends of the seven Buddhas and at the same time approaching the multiplied legends in the *Jātaka*-Commentary. The Barhut scenes, tested in the light of the *Mahāpadāna* Discourse, are yet in a stage when the lives of the previous Buddhas are not linked together by the chain of existences running through the Bodhisattva-career of Śākyamuni. The epithet *Bhagavā*, rendered Divine Master, is resplendent with the Bhāgavatic idea of divinity. The Bodhi-Tree of Śākyamuni, the last of the seven Buddhas, is made a subject of the most elaborate representation, perhaps in accordance with the bold claim of Śāriputra for the greatness of his Master among all the Buddhas.¹ It is here that the spot is marked with a stone-pillar with a round shaft and a lotus-ornament at the capital, crowned by an animal figure, the standing figure of an elephant carrying a garland. This pillar at once reminds one of Aśoka who is said to have visited all the important Buddhist holy places and set up isolated monoliths, one on each spot, some of them being crowned by figures of animals. The legend presupposed by the Barhut scene is inexplicable without reference to the fact of Aśoka's pilgrimage to Budh Gaya. As for the earlier *Mahāpadāna* outlines of the Buddha's lives, the Bodhi-Trees are nothing but incidental references, while in the Barhut scenes they become the most prominent objects, receiving all the honour and homage due to the Buddhas. The labels, apart from the traditional explanation,

¹ *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta*, Chap. I.

identify bodhi or enlightenment with each of the trees. In the *Mahāpadāna-Commentary* and other later works the glory of the trees engages a lengthy poetical description. Thus the Barhut scenes well indicate how the interest is transferred from the fact to the symbol, and how the honour of the symbol, apart from the Buddhist explanation accompanying it, might pass back and dwindle into the primitive tree and spirit worship which is at the back of rank idolatry and uneliminable factor in popular cults.¹

(2-3) In the second group of scenes belonging to the biographical scheme one must, first of all, note two connected scenes² occupying the two panels on the outer face of the same Prasenajit Pillar. The representation in the upper panel contains a scene of supplication of various deities, gods and demigods, technically called *Devatā-āyāchana*, addressed to the Bodhisattva, now a dweller of the heaven Tushita, beseeching him to be born among men and open the gate of immortality. The scene is laid in a celestial grove marked by the presence of the heavenly trees. The supplicating deities, gently and uniformly dressed, stand with joined hands in four groups and two rows, in a perfect order. The following three labels that now survive indicate the position of three groups :—

“The deities of Pure Abodes on the eastern side.”

“The three classes of all-pervading deities on the northern side.”

“The six thousand gods of the six heavens of lust on the southern side.”

All remain in the same standing posture, in a reverential but dignified attitude, each looking in front, none wistfully looking at the Bodhisattva, though all are actually waiting upon him. The Bodhisattva is seated under one of the trees, resting his head upon the palm of his left hand, thoughtfully considering the matter and making the necessary observations as to the time, the place, the country, the race and the mother, holding a goad in his right hand. The representation in the lower panel gives an impression to the effect that the prayer of the deities is conveyed through the symphony of the music of the nymphs. The latter, viewed independently, contains a scene of forecast of the Bodhisattva's birth as a human child. The presence of the child indicates that the Bodhisattva has after all given his word of honour to be reborn in the mother's womb to the great joy of the deities. This joyous feeling bursts forth and finds a fitting expression through the combined music, songs and

¹ Cf. points discussed by Prof. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India*, pp. 224 foll; by Fergusson in his *Tree and Serpent Worship*, and by Zimmer in his *Alt Indisches Leben*, p. 58.

² Scenes Nos. 33-34.

dances of the nymphs. The grand opera is enacted by three groups of nymphs, each of four. The party is composed entirely of female experts, four of them dancing, four singing, and four playing on the harp and another such stringed instrument. The singers clap their hands in unison. The dancers dance in two rows, with lithesome movements. Of the five labels attached to this scene, one characterises the whole of it and the remaining four record the names of the four dancers :—

"The jovial and ravishing music of the gods, gay with acting."

"Alambhūshā—the heavenly dancer."

"Mīrakesī—the heavenly dancer."

"Padmāvatī—the heavenly dancer."

"Subhadrā—the heavenly dancer."

All the nymphs belong to the anthropomorphic class, representing as they do the ideal forms of the earthly courtezans, experts in dancing, singing, playing on stringed instrument, wearing rich apparels, and such pleasing arts. The Bodhisattva himself appears in the scene, in the form of a boy, wearing ornaments like a female and participating in the dance. The Tushita is a heavenly mansion where the Bodhisattva is a dweller, instructing and meditating in the midst of an æsthetic enjoyment of life without indulgence in the sexual lust. Here is a musical performance in which the mothers gather round their boy and dance, sing and play. There is innocence in the midst of all joyful expressions. The two representations, taken together, are labelled by just one inscription characterising them as jovial, ravishing and joyous, the remaining inscriptions referring to the actors and actresses. They are nothing but two sectional presentations of one and the same scene, and presuppose a highly poetical description, similar to one in the *Lalita-Vistara*. The dull myth of the deities' supplication, revealing the historical motive, is used as the fitting subject of dramatic demonstration, affording the eternal child and youth in man an excuse for a full enjoyment of the joy which is divine, and free from the imposed restraint.

(3) The third representation in one of the Pillar-medallions is that of a scene¹, the subject of which is aptly described in the label as :—

"The Divine Being's Descent."

The scene is laid in the royal bed-chamber of King Śuddhodana where Queen Māyā is sleeping on a bedstead. A big oil-lamp is kept burning near her

¹ Scene No. 35.

feet, while a kamaṇḍalu or tea-kettle-shaped water-jug can be seen on the right side, within the reach of her right hand. These are all the utensils in her bed-chamber shown by the artist. She is attended by three maids, one of them fanning her with a chauri. She is evidently dreaming a dream in which she sees how the Bodhisattva descended from high in the shape of a six-tusked elephant, and forced his entry into her womb through her left side. The king is absent from the chamber. The conception takes place by a mere dream. Here the elephant may be taken to symbolise the cloud which pours down rain carrying the seeds of life which give rise to herbs and bushes on the earth. The lowest forms of life, such as the herbs and bushes, and the shining gods, such as the sun, the moon, the planets and stars, are classed among the beings having a chance-birth (opapātika-sattā). The notions of conception among the human beings that have played a part in the building up of Indian civilisation are as follows :—

- (a) by the combination of parental elements brought together by the union of the sexes or by means of swallowing the semen by the mother when she is fit for maternity, the latter process being operative even where the female is a doe, e.g., the birth of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga, or a fish, e. g., the birth of Matsyagandhā ;
- (b) by the agency of a second female, e. g., the birth of Bhagīratha, the implication being that the female is also endowed with the male energy ;
- (c) by the agency of the mother alone, the parental elements in her person being brought together by means of (1) rubbing her navel with sesamum oil at the maternity season, (2) partaking of medicated powder, or (3) imagination or dream-suggestion.

The notion which satisfies the Buddhist spiritual need is that of a bodily descent and conception by mere dream-prognostication. The elephant also suggests the position and attitude of the foetus. The Barhut scene presupposes a simpler form of the legend like one in the Pāli Jātaka-Commentary.

(5) The fourth representation in the middle panel on the left side of the Ajāta-satru Pillar contains a grand scene¹, in the royal residence of King Śuddhodana, of a large assembly of the Rūpabrahma deities, making obeisance to the newly born Bodhisattva and predicting the birth of Buddhism, and here the label befittingly records :—

“The Angel Arhadgupta announces the inception of the Divine Master’s System.”

¹ Scene No. 37

The scene is laid in the parlour of Śuddhodana's royal residence, where in the centre is an ornamented jewel-seat of cubical shape, canopied by an umbrella with hanging garlands. The Bodhisattva himself does not appear, though his foot-prints appear on the threshold. The deities sit cross-legged with joined hands, surrounding the seat, their leader Arhadgupta alone kneeling down and touching the feet. The legend presupposed is like one in the Lalita-Vistara mentioning Maheśvara as the leader. Here, too, the disciplined habit and uniform dressing constitute a distinctive feature.

(6) The fifth representation on the face of a Gateway lower pillar shows a continuous scene of the great renunciation¹, where the Bodhisattva Prince Siddhārtha is seen going away at the dead of night from his father's palace and city on horse-back, under the escort of the angels, headed by Arhadgupta. Here we have a front view of the palace. Its roof over the verandah rests in the outer end upon a row of pillars with octagonal shafts. The out-going footprints with wheel-marks indicate the departure of the prince by the main entrance, and the same device is used to indicate his departure from the guarded city. The rājalakṣmī or the presiding female deity of the royal city stands with joined hands and feels sad as the prince goes away. The whole ground within and outside the city is strewn over with mandāraka flowers, symbolising the drops of rain or flakes of snow. The drummer beats his drum with his hands to mark the advance of the march. The scene presupposes a version of the legend similar to one in the Lalita-Vistara, and the attached label records the name of the head angel :—

"Arhadgupta."

(7) The sixth representation in the upper panel on the left side of the Ajātaśatru Pillar contains an interesting scene of celebration of a festival among the gods in the Trayavastrimśa heaven² commemorating the enshrinement of the dressed hair-lock cut off from the head of the Bodhisattva and thrown up into the air by him. The scene is laid in and out of the Vaijāyanta palace of Śakra and the Sudharmā, standing respectively as the celestial prototypes of the royal palaces and council-halls. These are the finest specimens of the secular architecture at Barhut. Here, too, is to be seen a musical performance, where some of the expert nymphs are characteristically dancing and some singing while the orchestra is in charge of the male gods. The musical instruments comprise the harp, the left-hand and right hand drums, and a bell-metal. The subject of illustration is a sequel of the story of the

¹ Scene No. 18. ² Scene No. 37.

prince's self-initiation into asceticism (pravrajyā). Of the annexed labels, one records the name of the festival and the remaining two refer to the palace and the hall :—

"The ceremonial enshrinement of the
Divine Being's dressed hair-lock."
"Sudharmā—the celestial Council-Hall."
"Vaijayanta—the Mansion of Victory."¹

(8) Now one must take note of a continuous scene¹, in which the angels of the Rūprabrahmaloka, headed by Subrahmā, have come down on the back of the heavenly elephants to congratulate the Bodhisattva on his victory over the hosts of Māra on the eve of his enlightenment. The scene which is laid at Bodh Gayā presupposes a legend similar to that in the Lalita-Vistara. The angels carry and hold out in trays the coins, apparels and other gifts made by the Bodhisattva in his previous birth as an evidence confirming the truth of his assertion. In all the later versions of the legend, including the one in the Lalita-Vistara, the earth-deity Vasundharā is represented to be the witness. The label simply records the name of the head angel :—

"The Brahma god."

(9) The scene representing how the Buddha spent five weeks on five spots around the Bodhimaṇḍa is missing, but the label survives, recording :—

"The Five Seats of the Mighty Lord."

(10) The next representation in one of the Pillar medallions contains a combined scene of purchase of a royal park in the suburb of Śrāvastī from Prince Jeta by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika and dedication of it to the Buddhist Fraternity.² Here one has, first of all, a view of the park after all the trees but the sandal and mango plants were cut off, and, secondly, that after it was converted into a monastic residence with some new buildings constructed on the site. This shows how the site was floored with bricks by the masons. The bullock-cart, the unyoking of the bullocks, the unloading, the work of the masons and the carrier and the formal way of handing over the possession of the park as a gift are faithfully represented. The gold coins shown consist of bullions cut into small pieces of irregular shape, each bearing a punch or Svastika mark. The orderly manner of the party assembled is another notable feature. The scene is based upon a legend similar to that in

¹ Scene No. 41 ² Scene No. 45.

the Singhalese version reproduced by Spence Hardy, and it bears the following label incised in bold letters :—

“Anāthapiṇḍika dedicates the Jatavana,
purchased with a layer of crores.”

(11) A serious misunderstanding among the Bhikshus at Kausāmbī endangering the unity and future interest of the Buddhist Fraternity led the Master to go away alone to a woodland where he spent the rainy season, being waited upon by an elephant. Though the scene is missing, the following label survives to indicate its inclusion in the Barhut scheme :—

“Pārileya—the woodland resort.”

(12) Another notable scene¹ is that of King Ajātaśatru's visit, evidently based upon an account similar to that in the Sāmaññaphala-Sutta. The scene is laid in the mango-grove of Jīvaka. The king kneels before the Master's seat, and is attended by amazonian guards, all characteristically mounted on the back of elephants. The representation of a maṇḍalamāla with a hanging oil-lamp, kept burning, is an interesting point. The guards are disarmed. Here, too, the footprints appear as an indication that there is an actual historical fact behind the fiction. The attached label faithfully describes the action :—

“Ajātaśatru bows down to the Divine Master.”

(13) Now one must take notice of a scene of the last interview of King Prasenajit with the Master. The royal procession is vividly represented. The Dharmachakra-hall symbolises the presence of the Master. The scene² contains a representation of the Dhammachetiya-Sutta in the Majjhima-Nikāya. The labels, instead of naming the Discourse, record the names of the king and the shrine :—

“King Prasenajit of Kosala.”

“The Dharmachakra of the Divine Master.”

(14) The next scene³ represents the sequel of the Dhammachetiya story. The same royal procession and Dharmochakra-shrine serve to indicate the connexion. The subject of illustration is King Viḍūḍabha's or Virūḍhaka's march towards Kapilavāstu. The scene represents the sudden halt in the march due to a timely intervention of the Master, while the label refers to the non-violent attitude of the Śākya :—

“Even they be dying themselves.”

¹ Scene No. 51. ² Scene No. 52. ³ Scene No. 53.

The text of the inscription shows that the scene is based upon a story similar to one in the Dhammapada-Commentary.

These last two incidents happened in the last year of Buddha's life. But there are few other scenes representing some of the intermediate episodes which cannot be chronologically arranged.

(15) In the first instance one must note the representation of an ornamented cavern¹ with an Indraśāla tree marking its entrance. The mountain is full of bears and monkeys. The cavern is sacred to Indra. The sanctuary has an aroma of Vedic religion. The harper Pañchaśikha is sent to arrange an interview for Śakra, the king of the gods. The scene is intended to represent the episode of the Sakkapañha-Sutta, but the label just records the name of the cavern :—

"The Indraśāla cave."

(16) On the left terminus pillars of the four Quadrants one might see the statues of four Lokapālas or Regents of the Quarters guarding the four entrances of the Buddhist sanctuary Dhṛitarāshṭra, Virūpāksha and Kubera². The figures of Dhṛitarāshṭra and Virūpāksha are now missing. The labels describe each of them as a yaksha or warrior-god :—

["Dhṛitarāshṭra—the Yaksha".]

"Virūḍhaka—the Yaksha".

["Virūpāksha—the Yaksha".]

"Kubera—the Yaksha."

All of them must have been represented as standing with joined hands, directed evidently towards the invisible presence of the Buddha ; and their representations must have been based upon a legend such as that in the Āṭṇāṭṭiya-Sutta. In the Lalita-Vistara and Mahāvastu versions of this Discourse each of them is said to have guarded a particular quarter with the help of a general, eight constellations and eight heavenly damsels, Dhṛitarāshṭra guarding the eastern quarter with the help of Sūryya ; Virūḍhaka, the southern quarter with the help of Yama ; Virūpāksha, the western quarter with the help of Varuṇa ; and Kubera, the northern quarter with the help of Maṇibhadra. They are the dwellers of the lowest of the six heavens of lust and holders of the royal sceptre. The first is the supreme leader of the Gandharvas, the second that of the Kumbhāṇḍas, the third that of the Nāgas, and the fourth that of the Yakshas. In the Pāli version all the powerful Vedic deities,

¹ Scene No. 56- ² Scenes Nos. 75-60.

the Singhalese version reproduced by Spence Hardy, and it bears the following label incised in bold letters :—

“Anāthapiṇḍika dedicates the Jatavana,
purchased with a layer of crores.”

(11) A serious misunderstanding among the Bhikshus at Kausāmbī endangering the unity and future interest of the Buddhist Fraternity led the Master to go away alone to a woodland where he spent the rainy season, being waited upon by an elephant. Though the scene is missing, the following label survives to indicate its inclusion in the Barhut scheme :—

“Pārileya—the woodland resort.”

(12) Another notable scene¹ is that of King Ajātaśatru's visit, evidently based upon an account similar to that in the Sāmaññaphala-Sutta. The scene is laid in the mango-grove of Jīvaka. The king kneels before the Master's seat, and is attended by amazonian guards, all characteristically mounted on the back of elephants. The representation of a maṇḍalamāla with a hanging oil-lamp, kept burning, is an interesting point. The guards are disarmed. Here, too, the footprints appear as an indication that there is an actual historical fact behind the fiction. The attached label faithfully describes the action :—

“Ajātaśatru bows down to the Divine Master.”

(13) Now one must take notice of a scene of the last interview of King Prasenajit with the Master. The royal procession is vividly represented. The Dharmachakra-hall symbolises the presence of the Master. The scene² contains a representation of the Dhammachetiya-Sutta in the Majjhima-Nikāya. The labels, instead of naming the Discourse, record the names of the king and the shrine :—

“King Prasenajit of Kosala.”

“The Dharmachakra of the Divine Master.”

(14) The next scene³ represents the sequel of the Dhammachetiya story. The same royal procession and Dharmachakra-shrine serve to indicate the connexion. The subject of illustration is King Viḍūḍabha's or Virūḍhaka's march towards Kapilavāstu. The scene represents the sudden halt in the march due to a timely intervention of the Master, while the label refers to the non-violent attitude of the Śākya :—

“Even they be dying themselves.”

¹ Scene No. 51. ² Scene No. 52. ³ Scene No. 53.

The text of the inscription shows that the scene is based upon a story similar to one in the Dhammapada-Commentary.

These last two incidents happened in the last year of Buddha's life. But there are few other scenes representing some of the intermediate episodes which cannot be chronologically arranged.

(15) In the first instance one must note the representation of an ornamented cavern¹ with an Indraśāla tree marking its entrance. The mountain is full of bears and monkeys. The cavern is sacred to Indra. The sanctuary has an aroma of Vedic religion. The harper Pañchaśikha is sent to arrange an interview for Śakra, the king of the gods. The scene is intended to represent the episode of the Sakkapañha-Sutta, but the label just records the name of the cavern :—

“The Indraśāla cave.”

(16) On the left terminus pillars of the four Quadrants one might see the statues of four Lokapālas or Regents of the Quarters guarding the four entrances of the Buddhist sanctuary Dhṛitarāshṭra, Virūpāksha and Kubera². The figures of Dhṛitarāshṭra and Virūpāksha are now missing. The labels describe each of them as a yaksha or warrior-god :—

[“Dhṛitarāshṭra—the Yaksha”.]

“Virūdhaka—the Yaksha”.

[“Virūpāksha—the Yaksha”.]

“Kubera—the Yaksha.”

All of them must have been represented as standing with joined hands, directed evidently towards the invisible presence of the Buddha ; and their representations must have been based upon a legend such as that in the Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta. In the Lalita-Vistara and Mahāvastu versions of this Discourse each of them is said to have guarded a particular quarter with the help of a general, eight constellations and eight heavenly damsels, Dhṛitarāshṭra guarding the eastern quarter with the help of Sūryya ; Virūdhaka, the southern quarter with the help of Yama ; Virūpāksha, the western quarter with the help of Varuṇa ; and Kubera, the northern quarter with the help of Maṇibhadra. They are the dwellers of the lowest of the six heavens of lust and holders of the royal sceptre. The first is the supreme leader of the Gandharvas, the second that of the Kumbhāṇḍas, the third that of the Nāgas, and the fourth that of the Yakshas. In the Pāli version all the powerful Vedic deities,

¹ Scene No. 56- ² Scenes Nos. 75-60.

Prajāpati, Varuṇa, and the rest are classed among the Yāksha generals. The Mahāsamaya-Suttanta classifies the Yākshas and Nāgas and Devatās according to localities and attributes. The Purāṇas mention their various groups. Here Kubera is represented as naravāhana. The four guardian gods of warrior-like habit and civic spirit are all benevolent deities and represent a super-human type, whose families and retinues include the Gandharva classes of beings, noted for music and erotic temperament, the Kumbhāṇḍas of savage vice, the Nāgas of pitiable existence in spite of wealth, and the Yākshas of ferocious spirit. Here their figures serve as prototypes of the warrior-kings, the guards of fortified cities, the gate-keepers and sentinels.

(17) It is in taming and humanising the Yākshas that the Master had to display his great moral courage and spiritual powers. Among the Yāksha-scenes one must first take note of the figure of a Yāksha¹ standing on a hideous-looking vehicle with the tail of a crocodile and the front part of a quadruped. This demigod is called Ajakālāpaka or Goat-molester, the devourer of the living beings of immortal essence, in whose temple and abode, near Pāṭali or Pāvā, the goats were sacrificed in groups or men entered with offerings uttering the cry aja or unborn, the aja or goat symbolising the unborn essence. The burning of the goat with a corpse is an ancient Indo-Aryan custom, referred to in one of the Vedic funeral hymns. The Yāksha represents Time or Death, the destroyer of living creatures. Even this dreaded demon was tamed by the Buddha. He appears in a human shape, standing with joined hands before the august presence of the Master as a gentle listener, and guarding the sanctuary. The scene is intended to present the Ajakālāpaka-Sutta in the Udāna, but the label simply records the name of the interlocutor as :—

“Ajakāla, the Yāksha.”

(18) There is another figure of a Yāksha standing in a similar devotional attitude.² The particulars of this demigod cannot be traced in any known Buddhist or Indian work. His name indicates that he is a dweller of the Gangetic region. His vehicle is an elephant. The scene itself must have been based upon a Buddhist Discourse with the Yāksha as interlocutor. The label names him :—

“Gāṅgeya, the Yāksha.”³

(19) There is a third Yāksha-statue⁴ with the usual devotional attitude. He remains standing on the straight roof of a railing-like construction. The scene of

¹ Scene No. 61. ² Scene No. 62. ³ Scene No. 63. ⁴ Scene No. 64.

interview is based upon a Buddhist Discourse, the *Sūchiloma-Sutta*, from which and its Commentary it is clear that he is a needle-haired porcupine-like demigod with his abode in the inside of a *Ṭam*-shaped stone-structure, on the roof of which there lived the *Yaksha Khara* of the rough-skinned crocodile species. The label aptly describes him as :—

“*Sūcīhoma*, the needle-haired *Yaksha*.”

(20) There is yet another *Yaksha*-statue² appearing in the same devotional attitude. Here the demigod rides on an elephant. The *Sutta* upon which the scene is based cannot now be traced. In the label he is named :—

“*Supravāsa*, the *Yaksha*.”

(21) There is an interesting scene¹ in which a *Nāgarāja* or Dragon-chief hurriedly wends his way to the Divine saviour, seated under one of the *Śirīsha* trees, together with his wife and daughter, to pay his homage as a means of escape out of his present pitiable existence in spite of his vast hoards of wealth, of obtaining the gift of speech. He is known as one of the four richest persons in the whole of India, and assigned to a home in a lake in *Takshaṣilā*, which is a great centre of trade. The scene is laid on the bank of a large river with an island, which is partly submerged during the high tide. The tree under which the Master is shown to have been seated appears to be the lord of its kind, endowed with a distinct personality of its own. The pathos of life remains hidden in the romance of the situation. In the midst of a lotus-covered river the Dragon-chief in the shape of a dragon lifts his large hood above water, and his handsome daughter dances and sings on his head, attracting the human suitors who might give information of whereabouts of the Master. The story of the interview can be traced in the *Dhammapada-Commentary* and the *Mahāvastu*. The *Barhut* scene presupposes a legend containing elements of both the versions. Of the two labels, one contains the name of the Dragon-chief and the other describes his action :—

“*Erāpata*, the Dragon-chief”.

“The Dragon-chief *Erāpata* bows
down to the Divine Master.”

(22) The second scene³ where another Dragon-chief remains standing, in human shape and with cobra-hood over the turban, on a rocky ground adjoining a lake

¹ Scene No. 64. ² Scene No. 69. ³ Scene No. 70.

and in the usual devotional attitude, must have been based upon a distinct legend, which cannot now be traced. The label records the name of :—

“Chakravāka, the Dragon-chief.”

(23) Side by side with the statues of these demigods there are the figures of some demigoddesses representing two distinct classes, viz. the *Yakshiṇī* and the *Devatā*. The *Yakshiṇīs*, as described in Buddhist literature, represent two types, one being the metamorphosis of a jealous rival wife, and the other the voluptuous savage woman of South India and Ceylon. The Barhut figures seem to typify some tender natural phenomena e. g., the moon-beams piercing through the trees, and the sun-rays floating in the air and on the surface of water. But they may be taken also to represent other races than the Aryan. Two of these statues¹ bear the labels recording the names of :—

“Chandrā *Yakshiṇī*.”

“*Yakshiṇī* *Sudarśanā*.”

(24) The *Devatās* represent a variety of the demigoddesses who being propitiated grant success in life. In two examples there are two figures of the presiding deities of hunting, one standing on the back of an elephant and the other on the ground. The labels name them as :—

“*Kshudrakokā*—the little hunter-goddess.”

“*Mahākokā*—the great hunter-goddess.”

The term *kokā* implies that here the reference is to the primitive method of hunting with the help of the dogs. There is a separate representation in one of the Pillar upper half medallions illustrating this mode of hunting.

(25) There is another inscribed statue of a goddess² with prominent hip and heaving bust, expressive of the power of production and feeding. The label attached describes her as :—

“*Sirmā*—the goddess of lucky grace.”

These isolated statues of the demigoddesses are representations that are not based upon distinct Discourses where they are the interlocutors but upon some version of the *Mahāsamaya-Suttanta* enumerating the various classes of deities and their families and retinues.

(26) The Bodhi-Tree was not the only object enjoyed or used by the Buddha. There were other things as well, e. g., seats, tanks, robes and bowls, associated with

¹ Scenes No. 73-74. ² Scene No. 78.

the treasured memory of his real existence. The *Pāribhogika-chetiyas* enshrining them were not protected even by animals and reptiles. The first example of this class of Buddhist sanctuaries is afforded by the missing representation of an *āsana* with the label describing it as :—

“The seat of the Divine and Mighty Lord,
frequented and guarded by many elephants.”

(27) The second example which survives in full shows the representation of a triangular lake or pool with ornamented banks¹ guarded by a herd of wild elephants and a pack of lions. A dragon-king guards the bottom. This is a lake where the Buddha bathed and on the bank of which he washed his garments. The lake has a triangular form, it is guarded by a trio composed of the dragon, the elephant and the lion, and the label aptly indexes the representation as a scene of :—

“The triangular resort.”

(28) There is a fine medallion carving depicting a scene² in which the name of the Buddha serves to rescue the passengers of merchant-vessels from the grasp of the sea-monster *leviathan*. The vessels shown are ordinary boats pulled by oars. The appearance of the monster-fish and the commotion in the sea-water are delightfully represented. The literature enumerates the various dangers attending sea-voyages and means of escape therefrom. Among the dangers, the typical are those arising (1) from the whales and tortoises, (2) from waves and tides, (3) from running aground, (4) from sinking in water. (5) from being struck on submarine rocks, (6) from monsoons, and (7) from the pirates.³ Among the means of escape, the typical are those by means of (1) *satyakriyā* or the exercise of the power of truthfulness. (2) *nāmasmaraṇa* or taking the name of the supreme deity, (3) *puṇyaikriyā* or performance of the acts of merit, (4) *śraddhā* or faith in the goodness and mercy of God, (5) the intervention of *Maṇimekhalā* and some such deities. and (6) the exercise of one's own intelligence, skill and powers. Here the scene illustrates a case where the danger arose from a sea-monster and the means of escape was found in uttering the name of the Buddha. The inscribed label fittingly describes the subject in these words :—

“Vasugupta is brought ashore being rescued from the grip of *Timiṅgila*
(by the power of the name) of the Mighty Lord.”

(29) There are several inscribed carvings illustrating the anecdotes regarding the previous *Bodhisattva*-career of *Śākyamuni*. Each of them represents either a

¹ Scene No. 83. ² Scene No. 85. ³ *Divyāvadāna*, p. 229.

complete Birth-story, or a single incident relating to particular birth, or a number of episodes. Some of the attached labels characterise the scenes with reference to the illustrated stories, called after the Bodhisattva :—

- 1 Maghādeviya-Jātaka [Barhut].
Makhādeva-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- 2 Isimiga-Jātaka [Barhut].
Nigrodhamiga-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- 3 Bhojājaṇiya-Jātaka [Barhut].
Bhojājāṇiya-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- 4 Haṃsa-Jātaka [Barhut].
Nachcha-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- 5 Nāga-Jātaka [Barhut].
Kakkaṭa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- 6 Sujāta-gahuta Jātaka [Barhut].
Sujāta-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- 7 Laṭuvā-Jātaka [Barhut].
Laṭukikā-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- 8 Miga-Jātaka [Barhut].
Ruru-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- 9 Chhadaṃtiya-Jātaka [Barhut].
Chhaddanta-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- 10 Isisiṃgiya-Jātaka [Barhut].
Ṛishyaśṛiṅga-Upākhyāna [Mahābhārata].
- II Mugapakiya-Jātaka [Barhut].
Mūgapakkha-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

Some of the labels characterise the scenes with reference to the principal actors :—

- 1 Chitupādasīla [Barhut].
"The gamblers fond of the square-board game".
Litta-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- 2 Asaḍā vadhu susāne sīgāla ṇāti [Barhut].
"Woman Āshāḍhā, jackals on a funeral ground and her kinsman".
Asilakkaṇa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

- (3) Kaṇḍari-Ki(narā) [Barhut].
Kaṇḍari-Jātaka [Jātaka Comy].
- (4) Biḍala-Jatara Kukuṭa-Jātaka [Barhut].
Kukkuṭa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (5) Uda-Jātaka [Barhut].
Udda-Jātaka [Dhammapada-Comy].
Dabbhapuppha-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (6) Vijapi-Vijadharo [Barhut].
"Spell-muttering Vidyādhara."
Samugga-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (7) Kinara-Jātaka [Barhut].
Episode of Kinnaras in the—
Takkāriya-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (8) Usukāro Janako rājā Sivaladevi [Barhut].
"Arrow-maker, King Janaka, Queen Sivali"
One of the episodes in the—
Mahājanaka-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (9) Vitura-Punakiya-Jātaka [Barhut].
Vidhūrapaṇḍita-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

Some of the labels describe the main action :—

- (1) Sechha-Jātaka [Barhut].
"Water-drawing in the Jātaka-scene".
Dūbhiyamakkata-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (2) Dighatapasi sise anusasati [Barhut].
"The venerable ascetic instructs his pupils".
Mūlapariyāya-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (3) Bhīṣaharāniya-Jātaka [Barhut].
"Jātaka-scene with reference to lotus-fibre-stealing."
Bhīsa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (4) Vaḍuko katha dohatī Naḍode pavate [Barhut].
"Vaḍika extracts juicy balm on Mt. Nārada."
Vaḍikavastu [Avadāna-Śataka].

Some of the labels characterise the scenes by external associations :—

- (1) Migasamadaka-chetaya [Barhut].
"Woodland-shrine in the animal feeding-ground."
Vyaggha-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (2) Naḍodapāde dhenachako [Barhut].
"Trim-boughed Banyan tree at the foot of Mt. Nārada."
Dhonasākha-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (3) Daḍanikamo chakamo [Barhut].
"The resort wherefrom escape is difficult."
Uruga-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (4) Abode chātiyaṃ [Barhut].
"At the watery lake."
Mātiposaka-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (5) Yavamajhakiya-Jātaka [Barhut].
"Scene of Jātaka-episode with reference to the village Yavamadhyaka."
The episode in the—
Mahāummagga-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (6) Jabū Naḍode pavate [Barhut].
"Rose-apple trees on Mt. Nārada."
The episode in—
(?) Vessantara-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (7) Himani [chakamo] [Barhut].
"Snowy resort."
- (8) Jaṭila-sabhā [Barhut].
"Matted-hair ascetics' hall"
Indasamānagotta-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

Some of the labels characterise a scene by the external associations as well as actors :—

- (1) Bahuhathiko [Barhut].
"Attended by many elephants."
Bahuhathiko nigodho Naḍode [Barhut].
"The Banyan tree on Mt. Nārada, attended by many elephants."

Susupālo koḍāyo Veḍuko arāmakko [Barhut].
 "Śiṣupāla the fort-keeper, Veṇuka the forester."
 Mahāvāṇija-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

Some of the labels characterise the scenes by catchwords of the moral verses in the original stories :—

- (1) Yaṃ-brāmhano-avāyesi-Jātaka [Barhut].
 "Scene of the Birth-story with the moral verse—As the Brahmin played."
 Aṇḍabhūta-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].
- (2) Dusito giri dadati na [Barhut].
 "The would-be rogue did not offer the hill."
 Suchchaja-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

There are two curious instances where the labels are mainly Votive and are at the same time Jātaka :—

- (1) Bhadata-Mahilasa thabho dānaṃ [Barhut].
 (With the figure of Mihira the Sun-god)"¹
- (2) Bibikānadikaṭa-Suladhasa asavārikasa dānaṃ [Barhut].
 "Gift [of a scene of the trooper] of Sulabdhā the trooper from Bimbikānadikaṭa."

The scene of the trooper based upon the—
 Valāhassa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(30) In one of these scenes Maghādeva or Mahādeva, the good king of Videha, is upset at the sight of a grey hair picked up from his head and resigns his kingdom in favour of his eldest son, the crown prince who is called into his presence². He is seated on a throne that resembles one of the modern fashionable chairs. He has long hair on his head, and wears on his person all ornaments but anklets and girdles. His face is clean shaven. The prince stands gently before him. The barber stands behind him with his shaving pot, brush and pincers. The removal of grey hair is one of his duties. In the ascetic language the grey hair is the death's messenger [devadūta]. Its appearance is an indication that a man must lose no more time to retire. The problem suggested is far deeper than the per-

¹ Scene No. 71. ² Scene No. 87.

sonal fear of death. The distrust in the triumph of sciences and arts is an important consideration. Making room for others is also a necessity. Mahādeva is the king when he reigns ; he is the ascetic when he retires into the forest ; and he is the god when he is dead.

(31) The next scene¹ shows a saintly deer as a victim on the execution block which is laid in a royal garden. The garden is represented by a tree. The deer asks the boon of safety for his species and for all the creatures of the man who stands with an axe for beheading him. The kings were fond of deer-hunting and venison-eating. The ascetics pleaded for mercy and non-harming. The kings interfered with the people's daily work in compelling them to accompany them for deer-hunting. The people contrived means to decoy the deer into and imprison them inside the royal park. Experience showed that in attempting to shoot one deer, others were made to suffer a panic. The execution-block as a means of beheading one deer daily out of sight of others was introduced and proved to be a remedy. The kings in course of time protected the living creatures within the residences of the Jāinas and the Ājīvikas². The Brahmin law-givers were led from hygienic consideration to prohibit the eating of the flesh of certain beasts, birds and fishes. King Asoka enacted game-laws prohibiting injury to certain species of living creatures. The Jāinas and the Ājīvikas advocated strict vegetarianism as a creed. The sin lies in killing and not in eating continued to be the general Buddhist attitude. Here for want of space one man is made to represent the king as well as the royal cook.

(32) The third scene³ represents the return of a horseman and his trained charger after victory. The Horse, the Elephant, the Chariot and the Foot-men represented the four divisions of the Indian army. The present scene illustrates the importance of the cavalry charge as a means of offence and defence.

(33) The fourth scene⁴ which is laid on a rocky islet in the midst of a lotus-lake represents a gathering of the birds with the golden mallard as their king. A handsome peacock rapturously dances, making a display of his plumage and worth. The gathering is represented by the golden mallard and the peacock. The scenery is natural. The representation of the dance of the peacock is lifelike. The occasion is one of svayamvara, the king's daughter being given the right of choosing her husband. The marrying of a princess is a romance of youth. She is brought up in refinement.

¹ Scene No. 88. ² i. e., provided what is technically called dhammikārakkhāvaraṇa-gutti. ³ Scene No. 90. ⁴ scene No. 91.

The dignified manners are the characteristic of a royal family. The peacock is chosen by the young princess for his plumage, but he is rejected by her father for his shameless dance.

(34) Now one must turn to a scene¹ where the gamblers are playing a square-board game, which is apparently a variety of dice. Six pieces of dice and the cubical box containing them are shown. The sharper playing tricks is badly handled. He did not know that the dice which he swallowed was rubbed with poison. His head reeled. He fell on the ground. Here his fall is represented by the breaking of the stone-slab with the game-board.

(35) Then one must pass on to a scene² of a funeral ground where a young woman is chased by a pack of jackals, while her kinsman lies on the earth pretending to be dead. Here the ground is a charnel-grove where the dead bodies were thrown away unburnt, exposed to the sun, and liable to undergo the process of decomposition or being eaten away by the worms and carnivorous beasts and birds. This afforded opportunities to medical students to make anatomical observations before the introduction of dissection. The wanderers and recluses found shelter. The ascetics got opportunities for meditation on transitoriness. The thieves obtained a hiding place. The rogues found a place for insulting the dead bodies. The exorcists gained a spot for practising their black art. The royal executioner found a ground for impaling and beheading the rebels and criminals, and the royal priests found one for sacrificing human beings. The moralists found an objective background for their conceptions of hells and punishments. The belief at the back of the custom is that after the soul has departed, there is no difference between a human corpse and a carcase. The prevention of wastage in nature is also a consideration. The custom implies a reversion to and a continuation of the primitive natural state of man.

(36) One scene represents a cave-dwelling of the matted-hair ascetics³. In other scenes the ascetics are represented as dwelling in leaf-huts, all of which are one-peaked houses. The ascetics of the Jāṭila class were all fire-worshippers, and lived a corporate life under a common leader. Here only their leader appears within the cave.

(37) In another scene⁴ a Brahmin carries water for a thirsty monkey in a dreary forest. The water is drawn out of a well. Two jars are filled with it and carried on the Brahmin's shoulder with the help of a banghi pole and two nets of cords. Filling the troughs with water for thirsty beasts and birds was considered to be a great act of merit.

¹ Scene No. 96. ² Scene No. 97. ³ Scene No. 98. ⁴ Scene No. 99.

(38) One must take note of the scene¹ in which the great ascetic teacher holds his class. The pupils are seated in the open air under a tree, the male students on their heels and the female students cross-legged, while the teacher himself sits cross-legged on a deer-skin spread over a high seat.

(39) None should pass unnoticed the scene² in which a delicate story of Kaṇḍari and Kinnari is represented by two human figures, placed side by side, the female figure holding a pigeon and the male a hawk. The pigeon symbolises passion, and the hawk the means of finding it out. All that is meant is that Kaṇḍari found out Kinnari's love-intrigue.

(40) The next important scene³ is one in which the dead body of a Brahmin's son is being burnt on a funeral pyre by his parents, sisters and wife on a cremation-ground. He was bitten by a snake while he was burning the heaped up faggots and died on the spot. By the same device the artists have represented funeral pyre and the bundle of faggots. The cremation-ground is represented by a Yaksha eating up a dead body. The fire is protected by a straight wall. The courage of the members of the Brahmin family is tested by Śakra, whose advent is signified by the lions' roar. Four lion-heads with gaping mouths represent the roar.

(41) The last important scene⁴ to be noted is one in which Mahaushadha, the Bodhisat, displays his great power of judgment. He sits in the midst of the village people with his great personality. As the disputant parties pass by his house, they are sent for, and he settles the dispute by detecting the real fact of the case. No lengthy procedure is required. The offending party pleads guilty and is chastised. The real owner gets back his things and goes away praising the good man.

(42) It was not possible for persons other than the Buddhists intimately acquainted with the texts and traditions to conceive the plan and draw up the scheme. But one must always regret to be confronted with an irregular order of the Jātaka-scenes, due partly to the lack of supervision on the part of the superintending monks, and partly to the insistence of the donors to place their gifts first, the carvings of their liking. Though there was a ready-made plan, it had to be worked out gradually, according to opportunities. The labels were a desideratum and theoretically proved to be of immense help in finding out the connecting links and identifying the illustrated stories with the texts and traditions that were in the background. The interest of the Buddhist teachers who supplied the sculptors with the legends and stories was to see the texts, consisting of Discourses with anecdotes, faithfully represented. The duty

¹ Scene No. 104. ² Scene No. 112. ³ Scene No. 116. ⁴ Scene No. 137.

of the artists, entrusted with the work, was to make designs and carvings. The Discourses in their literary forms could not be represented. The limited spaces at their disposal prevented them from representing all the details. The representation of a Discourse by parts, and the separate representations of the parts, placed wide apart, meant a complete loss of the connexion. The representation of a Birth-story by a central episode compelled the artists to exercise a good deal of their own discretion. This gave them an opportunity of bringing their own intellect, imagination and originality into play, with the result that they could make the designs and carvings their own, keeping the texts and traditions in view. The inspiration remained so long as the forms evolved as a means to an end, in close relation to the matter behind, and it vanished as soon as the forms became stereotyped as an end by themselves, independently of the matter. Most of the Barhut labels indicate that the artists were interested to draw attention to their own works.

In a few instances where the Jātaka-scenes are named after the principal actors, the heroes of the illustrated stories, they may be supposed to have inscribed the labels supplied by the Buddhist teachers. Also in other instances where the scenes are named after the minor actors, or by the catchwords of the morals of the illustrated stories, the labels may have been suggested by the Buddhist teachers. But in instances where the labels, instead of naming the stories, refer to individual actors or to actions or to external associations, the artists are concerned only to draw attention to the notable points in their own designs.

In one case, two successive phases of the Mātiposaka-Jātaka have been represented in two panels intervened by several other scenes, and one of the panels is labelled with the inscription referring to a watery lake. The artists have, moreover, added to the scene the presence of a woodland-shrine,¹ which has no bearing upon the story. The story of Vidūra and Pūrṇaka is distributed into four panels that are not placed in order.² Here the suspicion is apt to arise if the stories were at all intelligible, even with the help of the labels. If the scenes were placed in order, represented in full and properly labelled, the case would perhaps have been different. It seems that the scenes, as they are represented at Barhut, were not at all intelligible to the pilgrims or visitors without the help of the guide. A passage in the Divyāvadāna throws some light on the point. There one reads that the subject-matters of the scenes on the doorway of the Veṇuvana monastery were known to none but the Buddha. Regarding the monks in general, it is said, 'They do not

¹ Scene No. 124. ² Scene No. 136.

know themselves, and how can they explain these to the visitors ?" Some exception is made with regard to capable monks.¹ But it became difficult even for the capable among the monks of Barhut to point out the interconnexion of the scenes with reference to the texts and traditional succession of the legends and stories, or to visualise the same in their own mind. In order to point out the intended interconnexion and its textual basis, the guide was required to lead the pilgrims and visitors, back and fro, and supply additional labels which was impracticable. Thus the curious result of employing the artists once for carrying out the textual scheme of the Buddhists was that the Buddhist teachers themselves became employed for ever to explain the work of the artists, and were compelled to narrate the stories at random, according to the artists' designs and carvings. The servants became the masters. The artist took the place of the teacher, and art that of thought. If so, one is bound to inquire into the nature and extent of the change effected by the artistic representations in the subsequent Jātaka literature.

(43) The baneful effect of the topsyturvy order of the Jātaka-scenes tampering with the traditional succession of the legends and stories is very marked in the Mahāvastu story of the Buddha in which the reader is apt to lose the thread and the links. The exaggerated poetical descriptions of the Bodhi-Trees in later Jātaka-literature, including the Avadānas, was an immediate effect of the artistic representations. Comparing the earlier Canonical Jātaka ballads with the later Commentary versions of the Birth-stories, one can detect a twofold process of expansion : first, the addition of another ballad which represented an independent story, and of the Buddha-verses (abhisambuddha-gāthā) which were the compilers' own compositions or quotations to explain the connexions ; secondly, the introduction of several details far beyond the scope of the story suggested in a Canonical ballad, recasting, in cases, the whole of the earlier story, and of the episode or episodes explanatory of certain points or allusions in the moral verse or verses. It is in regard to the details that the artistic representations seem to have exercised influence on the later Jātaka literature. One example may suffice. One of the uninscribed Jātaka-scenes represents a story which agrees in all its details with the story of Mahākapi as narrated in Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā.² The Pāli Canonical ballad sets forth a bare outline of the story which was developed by the Barhut artists. The Barhut illustration was based upon a tradition other than Pali. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the Commentary-version introduces many points that are not contemplated in the Canonical ballad. One of these points is that

Divyāvadāna, pp. 300-301. ² Scene No. 122

(44) So far as these processes are concerned, the Barhut Jātaka-scenes yield the following testimonies. In the scene bearing the label *Isisīṅgiya-Jātaka*, just the Bodhisat's birth from a doe is fully represented.¹ This is a minor point in the story of *Ṛishyaśṛṅga*. The really important point as to how the Bodhisat was tempted in vain by a heavenly courtesan and earthly princess is entirely left out. The label indicates that there was only one Buddhist version of the story, then known to the Barhut artists, with the title corresponding to that of the story of *Ṛishyaśṛṅga* in the Sanskrit Epics. In the later Buddhist works, such as the *Jātaka-Commentary*, the *Mahāvastu* and the *Avadānakalpalatā*, one finds two stories, named after the two

Read after page 72.

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Devadatta, then born as a wicked monkey among the followers of the Bodhisat, wilfully jumped from high on the back of the Bodhisat to break his bone. This point appears to have been suggested by the Barhut carving where the artists in indicating how the monkeys passed from one tree to the other, have incidentally represented a monkey on the tree-top, ready to jump from high.

separate Jātakas were later on interwoven into the narrative of a larger Birth-story of the novelette class, or that the interludes of a novellette Jātaka came to be treated as independent Birth-stories. The following example will, however, show how the earlier form of a story supplied the peg upon which was engrafted another story. Mahau-shadha's feats of wisdom and ready wit at *Yavamadhyaka* form one of the many episodes in the *Mahāummagga-Jātaka*. The Barhut carving⁷ illustrates just these feats

¹ Scene No. 131. ² Scene No. 138. ³ Fausboll's *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 557: the wife of the Bodhisat says that she followed her husband in his exile just as *Sītā* followed *Rāma* (*Rāmaṃ Sītā va*). ⁴ Scene No. 112.

⁵ Scene No. 135. ⁶ Scene No. 125. ⁷ Scene No. 137.

under the label *Yavamajhakiya-Jātaka*. The label clearly indicates that the *Jātaka* in its earlier form was concerned only with these feats.

(45) The processes of conversion of a current folk-tale into a Buddhist *Jātaka* are an interesting point. Three things were necessary (1) introduction of a new hero where the action of the hero of the folk-tale is inconsistent with the Buddhist principle, (2) retention of the hero of the folk-tale by modifying his action so as to make it tally with the Buddhist principle, (3) identification of the hero with the Buddha in his previous birth. The Barhut scenes throw some light upon the first process. In the *Pañchatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* story, the pair of sparrows successfully took revenge upon the elephant that arrogantly crushed their nest and young ones. Vengeance is against the Buddhist spirit. So in the Buddhist counterpart of this story, namely, in the *Laṭuvā* or *Laṭukikā Jātaka*, the avenging bird could not be treated as the hero or heroine. Here the *Bodhisat* is another elephant who, out of sympathy, took care not to harm the young ones¹. In the folk-tale the jackal was the hero who went away with the lion's share, deceiving the two others who invited him to equitably divide a red fish between them. Deception is not a Buddhist virtue. So in the Buddhist story, the hero is changed. In the Barhut story, the hero is an ascetic², and in the Commentary story, he is a tree-spirit. The folk-tale is retained intact, for the Buddhist hero is only a moraliser upon the incident.

60. Exclusive use of Gesture :—The uninscribed scenes illustrating stories of the present and those of the past represent the exclusive use of Gesture. These supplement the inscribed scenes, completing the Barhut sketch of the life of Śākyamuni.

(1) Among the scenes illustrating the stories of the present, one must first of all turn to a fragment retaining the drooping branch of a tree, *Plaksha* or *Aśoka*, with the hand of a woman seizing it.³ The tree is in flower. The hand shows bracelets adorning the wrist, and rings adorning the fingers. The scene probably represents the birth of the *Bodhisattva* at the *Lumbinī* park, and it is mainly based upon a legend like one in the *Jātaka-Commentary*.

(2) The fragment of the second scene, depicted in one of the Coping-panel⁴, presents a flight of three *Rishis* over a spot where a fire is kept burning. Here the fire symbolises the shining appearance of the child *Bodhisattva*. When the scene was complete, it represented a flight of five *Rishis*. Each of the *Rishis* wears two garments, under and upper, and has matted hair. Each carries a bowl or a jug in

¹ Scene No. 117. ² Scene No. 121. ³ Scene No. 36. ⁴ Scene No. 38.

his left hand. They remain poised in the air, above the fire. The mystical practice has enabled them to acquire the miraculous power of flying like birds, but they must not dare cross the spot where the Bodhisattva, gifted with a greater potency, lay. The scene is based upon a legend similar to one in the *Lalita-Vistara*.

(3) The third scene¹ contains a representation of festive decorations on the road whereby the Bodhisattva proceeded from the river *Nairāñjanā* to the Bo Tree. The specimen shown consists of a two-storeyed celestial mansion with two chambers, in each of which is seated a god watching the road. The mansion has two palmyra trees in front, and some birds on its roof. It presupposes a poetical description similār to one in the *Lalita-Vistara*.

(4) The fourth scene² presents the front view of a covered walk, consisting of a long platform in the open-pillared hall of a two-storeyed building, which has a vaulted roof with small pinnacles and two gabled ends. The platform bears on its upper face certain ornamental impressions that are symbolical of the flowers and other offerings made thereon, and on its front side representations of human hands that symbolise the act of worship. Each floor has a ground for perambulation within a stone-enclosure. The upper floor is provided with three doorways from which three garlands are hanging. The representation is surely one of the Jewel-walk, i.e., of the level ground where the Buddha spent a week in walking back and fro after his Enlightenment. Here each pillar has an octagonal shaft with a lotus-ornament and a bracket.

(5) The next representation presents a scene of worship of a material symbol of wheel, set revolving upon a pillar, which is crowned by the figures of two deer.³ The figures of deer indicate that the scene is laid in the Deer-park of *Ṛshipattana*, near Benares. The Hīndu thinkers were accustomed to think in the term of the allegory of wheel or cycle (*chakra*). In order to appeal to them, the Buddha presented the truths in the garb of expressions adapted to this allegory.

(6) Now one must turn to the scene of the great miracle performed by the Buddha at the foot of the *Gaṇḍamba* mango tree, defeating the six heretical teachers who boasted of their superiority in superhuman faculties⁴. The performance of miracles was held as a test for the greatness of a teacher. A large crowd has gathered round the place and stands in an orderly manner. The miracle-contests are not less attractive to multitudes than cock-fights. The scene is based upon a legend corresponding to one in the *Pāṭihāriyavatthu* of the *Dhammapada-Commentary*.

¹ Scene No. 40. ² Scene No. 42. ³ Scene No. 44. ⁴ Scene No. 46.

(7) Then one must take note of the scene of preaching Abhidharma in Tushita to a large congregation of the gods, headed by the Buddha's mother, now reborn as a god¹. The cubical seat is placed at the foot of a heavenly tree. The scene reminds one of the open-air class, with a large number of disciplined pupils attending it. The woman must become a man before she acquires the fitness to appreciate the scientific analysis and method. The woman is one who thinks in the term of the concrete, is guided by poetry and sentiment, and welcomes all that renders one's preconceived notions significant. The legend presupposed corresponds to one in the *Pāṭihāriyavatthu* of the *Dhammapada-Commentary*.

(8) This is followed by an interesting scene of the Buddha's descent from Tushita by a ladder². In the popular tradition Rāvaṇa tried to build a staircase connecting the earth with the heaven but failed. Rāvaṇa is the *Āirāvaṇa* or water-spout rising up from the sea. The boasted claim of the Buddhists is that they succeeded in building a ladder of this kind. King Aśoka claims in some of his Minor Rock Edicts that he was able to bring together men and the gods. All Buddhist congregations are composed of gods and men. The legend presupposed is partly similar to one in the *Pāṭihāriyavatthu* of the *Dhammapada-Commentary* and partly to one in a Tibetan version reproduced in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*.

(9) There is another scene³ which represents the planting and enshrinement of a Bo-sapling within the precincts of the Jetavana monastery. Here one has a front view of the sanctuary which is provided with three doorways and covered by a round vaulted roof resembling the oval part of a stūpa. The scene represents by the same design the present and past anecdotes of the *Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka*.

(10) The scene of the great decease is represented twice in two separate carvings⁴, one occurring in a Return pillar panel and the other in a Return rail. In each of these carvings, the two pairs of the twin Śāla trees indicate the spot where the Buddha lay down and passed away. The Stūpa marks the spot where his body was cremated and the portion of his bodily remains or relics was preserved and enshrined by the Mallas at Kusinārā. The Return pillar carving presents a pillar, with a cylindrical shaft and a bracket, and is surmounted by the figures of four lions. The lions bravely sit on their haunches, two on each side, back to back precisely as they do on some of the isolated Aśokan monoliths. As regards this carving, it presupposes a version of the *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta* which included in its account the visit of Aśoka to the place as a fact. The four principal spots, recommended in this *Suttanta*

¹ Scene No. 47. ² Scene No. 48. ³ Scene No. 50. ⁴ Scenes Nos. 54-55.

as memorable by the admirers seeking inspiration, consist of those where the Buddha was born, received enlightenment, delivered the first sermon and ultimately passed away. All of them were visited by King Aśoka during his pious tour and marked each with a towering monolithic pillar, with or without the crowning animal figures. The Barhut scenes go to show that the pillar set up at Bodh Gayā was crowned by the figure of an elephant carrying a garland, and that at Kusinārā by the lion-statues. The models of the Stūpa shown are of the same general pattern. In them, the railing appears as a mere architectural design at the cylindrical base, and there is no indication as to its having any openings or gateways. The same holds true of the five Stūpa symbols, one occurring in a Quadrant rail panel¹, one in a Quadrant pillar², and three on E. Gateway³.

(11) [The Stūpa and Tomb compared] :—The Stūpa is classed in Buddhist literature as a Śāriṛika chaitya or sepulchral sanctuary enshrining the charred bones or ashes from the funeral pyre of a deceased hero. The Buddhist hero is a Buddha or a Thera, the greatest hero being the Buddha himself. The Singhalese word denoting this class of sanctuaries is Dāgaba, which is a shorter form of Dhātugarbha. The Dhātugarbha strictly denotes the underground, inner or lower chamber containing the relic-casket or steatite-box, and the Stūpa the upper structure or covering mound. Thus as in one case the whole sanctuary is denoted by the name of the upper structure, so in the other the name of the lower or inner structure denotes the whole. The word Stūpa is the Buddhist Sanskrit form of the Pāli Thūpa. The origin of the form Thūpa can be traced back to an Indo-European word like Tumba, from which the English Tomb or the French Tombe has been derived. According to this connexion, the Stūpa is nothing but a Tomb or tumulus. But in spite of this kinship, the Stūpa considered as a Buddhist sanctuary and the Tomb as a Christian sepulchral structure represent two different lines on which tumulus or mound has developed. The custom behind the Stūpa is cremation, and the custom which is bound up with the Tomb is burial. The transition from the latter to the former is a long step.

The Tomb is essentially a mound covering a grave in which the actual dead body is buried. The body within the grave may be either directly covered by the clods of earth, the particles of sand or the pieces of stone and brick, or put inside a coffin or life-size box or cylinder of wood or stone. The body may be interred as mere body, or it may be washed and embalmed, wrapped up in cloth, dressed up, adorned with jewellery, honoured with flowers and garlands, and provided with personal belongings and necessities, as a tribute and mark of affection, either out of a

¹ Scene No. 25 (j) ² Scene No. 58 ³ Scene No. 13

pure æsthetic feeling of taste, or owing to a superstitious fear of visits and oppressions from the disembodied spirits, or on account of a human compassion for the helpless condition of the deceased. With the elaboration of protective mechanism, there may be a tomb within a tomb, a grave within a grave, and a coffin within a coffin. Here the desire to protect the body by all possible means from destruction, mutilation, shame and insult is persistent throughout, and the hoarding of jewellery is a side-issue.

The Stūpa is essentially a mound covering a garbha or chamber in which the bodily remains are deposited. The remains consist of the charred bones and ashes from the funeral pyre where the dead body is burnt. These, as deposited in the chamber, may be covered with the heap of earth, sand, stone or brick, or secured inside a large stone-box along with precious metals and small gold-leaves, or separately in urns. The urn in a Buddhist sanctuary is represented by a vase of crystal or ordinary stone, covered by a lid and inscribed with a label recording whose bodily remains the contents are. Here the hoarding of treasures¹ takes the place of the preservation of the body. In covering the chamber with a mound, the offerings of flowers, garlands and burning oil-lamps are made in honour of the relics. The implication is that the relics are not only deposited but enshrined. With the elaboration of hoarding and enshrining mechanism, there may be a mound within a mound, a chamber within a chamber, a box within a box, and an urn within an urn. The jewels and coins are deposited with the express purpose of enabling the poorer kings to repair or rebuild the shrine. The fiction of the burial of a warrior-hero continues to play its part. The erection of the sanctuary proceeds on the lines of the building of a fort, surrounded by walls and ramparts, and supervised by a military guard. The towers and gateways, as well as the representations of achievements of heroes are external features of the art of fort-building. In passing the custom of burial through the fire of funeral pyre, the superstitious elements in it are sought to be eliminated and the æsthetic elements separated and cast into brighter forms.

The processes of elimination and sublimation were tried along both the lines, in the one by retaining the earlier custom of burial and preserving the actual body, and in the other by introducing the system of burning and hoarding the remains of the pyre together with other treasures. But the animistic beliefs, the superstitious fears, natural weaknesses and primitive sentiments were persistent among the people at large. The screen of fire of the funeral pyre served only to separate these elements,

¹ The very expression dhātu-nidhāna suggests it. The phrase nidhiṃ nāma nidheti means 'hoards the treasure'.

keeping some on one side to do their work as before, and passing some to the other side to improve the quality of art. The burial aspect of the Stūpa continued to be associated with primitive beliefs, rites and practices. It will be interesting to examine the Indian literary evidence in this connexion.

In a Pāli Canonical passage the Buddha is said to have made a statement referring to the bleaching of bones (*aṭṭhi-dhopana*) as a rite prevalent in southern countries (i.e., in South India). In explaining the rite Buddhaghosha says that in some of the countries (i.e., among some of the aboriginal tribes) when a man died, his body was not cremated but buried in a grave. When the body was sufficiently decomposed, the bones were dug out of the grave and left to dry up after being washed and rubbed with aromatic substances. A lucky day was fixed for the celebration of the mourning festival. On the selected site the bones were arranged on one side and wine and other things on the other. The kinsmen of the deceased person assembled there, and drank wine and wept¹. Here the custom is that of burial, the bones are the objects of preservation, the behaviour is characterised by drunkenness and savagery, and the weeping is a natural expression of sorrow.

Now take a case where cremation is the custom. The *Sujāta-Jātaka* (F. 352) relates that a landowner since the day of his father's death was filled with sorrow, and taking his bones from the place of cremation he erected an earth-mound in his pleasure-garden, and depositing the remains there, he visited the place from time to time, adorned the tope with flowers and studiously lamented, neglecting his daily duties and personal comforts. Though here the custom is one of cremation and the man is a member of the Aryan or cultured community, he is said to have lamented, being subject to natural weakness and subconsciously under the superstitious belief that his weeping might bring back the departed soul, and he was not cured of this foolery until his wise son, the Bodhisat *Sujāta*, convinced him of the fact that his weeping was less availing as a means of bringing back into life the deceased whose body was burnt down than feeding a dead cow whose body still remained².

Then consider a case where the custom is burial. The *Ṛig-Vedic* hymn (X. 18) gives a vivid description of the funeral of a warrior. It appears that the dead body was carried to the funeral ground by one path, the path of death, and the party returned by another, the path of life. The wife of the deceased hero followed the dead body, accompanied by ladies, the ladies who were not widows walking ahead. The earth was dug out to make a grave. The spot was surrounded by an enclosure

¹ *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*, I. pp. 84-85. ² Scene No. 114.

(paridhi), by a stone-rampart (pāshāṇa) as Sāyaṇa interprets it.¹ The wife of the hero was urged by the priest to go back, together with other ladies, to the world of mirth and joy and begin her life anew. The circle of stone is set up as a device to separate the world of living ones from that of the dead, the priest's interpretation changing the original motive of guarding the grave and imprisoning the ghost. But this was also put up as a memorial, the kinsmen of the hero being exhorted by the priest to keep alive his tradition and continue his work for their prosperity and glory. The bow was taken off from the hand of the hero for preservation as a source of inspiration to the nation. The body was afterwards gently laid in the grave and covered with the heap of earth marked with a post (sthūṇa). The mother-earth was asked to hold her son in her bosom, not allowing the heap or mound above him to press him heavily, and the tomb was intended to serve as a mansion and a monument. Though here the custom is burial, the rites and prayers, the motives and expressions are of an Aryan or exalted character, breathing as they do a high moral tone.

It is well observed that the topes were not especially Buddhist monuments, but, in fact, pre-Buddhistic, and indeed only a modification of a world-wide custom.² There are clear evidences showing that certain sections of the Aryan community began to make them solid brick structures instead of heaps of earth, or of stones covered with earth³, and that the urn (asthikumbha), containing the bones and ashes and covered by a lid, came to be buried after the dead body had been burnt.⁴ On being asked how his body should be disposed of, the Buddha said that it should be done in a royal manner. The Mahākapi-Jātaka (F. 407) gives an account of the obsequies of a king. The ladies of the royal harem came to the funeral ground, as retinue for the deceased king, with red garments, dishevelled hair and torches in their hands. The ministers made a funeral pile with a hundred waggon loads of wood. On the spot where the body was burnt a shrine was erected and honoured for seven days with offerings of incense and flowers. The burnt skull, inlaid with gold, was put at the king's gate, raised on the spear-like staff serving as royal insignia (kuntagge) and was honoured. Then taking it as a relic, another shrine was built and honoured with incense and garlands.

¹ Mahādhara in commenting upon the Yajurveda hymn (XXXV. 15), says that after the burning of the body, the duty of the priest was to raise a bank or lump of earth between the village where the deceased dwelt and the funeral ground, as a rampart against death. See Wilson's *Rig-Veda Saṃhitā*, (Vol. VI. p. 47. f. n. 4.)

² Buddhist India, p. 80, A History of Fine Art In India And Ceylon. p. 14.

³ White Yajurveda. XXXV. 15.

⁴ Āśvalāyaṇa Gṛhya-Sūtra, IV. 5. Sāyaṇa on the Rig-Veda hymn (X. 18).

It is well suggested : "The first step was probably merely to build the cairn more carefully than usual, with stones, and to cover the outside with fine chunam plaster to give it a marble-like surface¹. The next was to build the cairn of concentric layers of the huge bricks in use at the time, and to surround the whole with a wooden railing."²

The heroes over whose graves, funeral pyres or bodily remains the shrines were raised were all as yet 'deceased persons of distinction, either by birth or wealth or official position,' the chief of them being warrior the king overlord. The mounds built in honour of their memory were all as yet looked upon as monuments of victory. The presiding deities of such shrines built on four sides of the cities like Vesāli, Malla and Ālavaka, were all Yakshas or dreaded personalities among the luminaries, the elemental forces, the inanimate things, the animate forms, the animals on land and in water, the savage tribes and civilised men. They were at the same time all entombed eponymic and deified heroes from the members of ruling clans, tribes and nations sought to derive their strength and inspiration. Though the basic idea was hero-worship, the Yaksha-shrines built beside the Yaksha-mansions were all believed to have been possessed by the disembodied spirits and haunted by the ghosts of these heroes. The elements of superstitious dread clang on to these shrines which were evidently tombs over the prehistoric graves in which the heroes were buried together with their jewels and hoardings. Though the mode of worship became imperceptibly Brahmanical or priestly, the heroes continued to be remembered in tradition and myth of the people at large as their own leaders, and religious offerings and worship at tombs enshrining their memory and bodily remains regarded as a way of producing the permanent mental attitude to remain loyal to the glorious tradition of the past and not to depart therefrom. When, in course of time, the kings and nobles became the leaders of thought, or reformers, or philosophers, they were claimed by the people at large as their own teachers, much to the detriment of the interest of the priests who traded by mediation between men on one side and the unseen and invisible world of spirits on the other. A passage in the Divyāvadāna supplies a typical case where the Brahmin priests as a class are represented as so much opposed to this mode of worship that the bankers who wanted to build a Stūpa in spite of the opposition, but were fewer in number, that they had to seek the protection of the king and complete their project under the guard of the royal army.³ The development of the art of building this class of shrines took a new

¹ Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 381 : chakre stūpāṇāṃ śāradābhraṇaḥ, "made the topes that shone like the autumnal clouds". ² Buddhist India, p. 80. ³ Divyāvadāna, pp. 243-244. "The priestly records carefully ignore these topes"—Buddhist India, p. 82.

turn and followed a direction which went to overshadow warrior the king by warrior the teacher. In the history of this development the Buddha was certainly the greatest landmark. What is the new turn that it took and what the direction that it followed? Hitherto the mounds were built and shrines honoured as monuments of victory. Henceforth they were intended to serve as monuments of victory in defeat.

In a Buddhist sanctuary with the mound in its centre, the carvings and frescoes, depicting various scenes from the Buddha's life, and the temples and niches containing the images illustrative of the formal modes of various meditative moods, and all placed in the outer zone, added as ornaments or decorative designs, full of lesson and artistic value. From the artists' point of view these are various expressions of refined human imagination and finer emotion, and in the devotees' perception these appear as representations of the actual and possible achievements in human life. The central structure towering with its imposing sight is but a device to preserve and enshrine the bones and ashes from the funeral pyre where the body of the Buddha or that of a disciple after death was cremated. There are old inscriptions or epitaphs, incised on the relic-caskets and recording when, by whom, and whose remains were enshrined. The famous Piprawa Vase Inscription, found in Nepal Terai, records :—

lyam salila-nidhane Budhasa Bhagavate Sakiyanam
sukiti bhatinam sabhaginikanam saputadalanam.

"This enshrinement of the relic¹ of Buddha the Blessed Lord is a meritorious work of (his) Śākyan brothers (accomplished jointly) with their sisters and wives and children."²

The expression "salila-nidhane"³, occurring in it signifies that the Buddha's body exactly like that of any other man, was subject to decay and consumable by fire. There are passages where he is represented as saying that he was anyhow dragging his worn-out body, like a cart after careful repairing. The presence of hair, nail, bone, tooth, and the rest indicates that he had a human form. The legends and traditions, the sculptures and paintings, the images and inscriptions go to re-

¹ Literally, depositing of the bodily remains.

² The interpretation of this has exercised the wits of several Indian epigraphists and orientalist, Dr. Fleet being inclined among them even to construe its text as a metrical composition (see J. R. A. S., 1907). Our interpretation leaves no room for doubt that the Sakyan Tope was erected to enshrine the bodily remains of the Buddha himself. Even an alternative interpretation might be offered, construing sukiti-bhatinam as a compound word: "This (is) the enshrinement of the relic of Buddha the Blessed One by (his) virtuous (or illustrious) Śākyan brothers together with their sisters and wives and children". Cf. Barhut Inscriptions, Barua and Sinha No. 165: Tirami timigila-kuchimha Vasuguto māchito bhagavato mahādevānam, Here mahādevānam is equivalent in sense to mahādevehi (Instrumental plural)—an instance of pluralis majestatis.

present that he was born under all ideal circumstances of life, and that in all respects he was perfect—as perfect a man could be. And yet the fact remains that he died. The mounds contain the monumental evidence of man's inability to overcome death in spite of all ideal circumstances, opportunities, attainments and perfection. By mere explaining away or mocking at death, the truth about man's inability to overcome it cannot be denied. The fact of the demise and funeral of the Buddha decides once for all that the denial of it is a mere act of fancy and frenzy, and all attempts to deny it are a bad bargain and a hopeless muddle. The bold proclamation of this truth is the obvious Buddhist motive behind the Stūpa. The same truth is confirmed by the history of Barhut Stūpa itself. The putting of the relics in covered caskets marked the stage of conception¹, putting of the casket within a stone box that of birth; the covering of the box by a brick-structure that of infancy; the rise of this structure above the ground like the bubble above the surface of water (*bubbulākāra*) that of childhood; the completion of the mound in an oval shape (*aṇḍākāra*), that of adolescence; the superimposition of the crowning construction with umbrellas in a bell-shape (*ghaṇṭākāra*) and encompassing it by a stone-railing with figures of the demi-gods and demi-goddesses keeping guard that of youth and coronation; the addition of the returns with the lion-statues guarding the approaches or outer arms with the frowning fingers that of manhood and fear of attacks; the erection of ornamented archways and completion of sculptural representations that of maturity and victory; the addition of an outer railing and construction of the flights of steps that of decline and old age; the inroads of Islamic forces that of death²; and the visit of Cunningham that of final dissolution.

(12) The Barhut Stūpa as a creation of art represents a distinct form or type. The Stūpas at Sāñchi and Sonārī, in short, all the Bhilsa topes belong to this type. The models produced by the Barhut artists can be taken as faithful representations of the forms known to them at the time or they imagined what they ought to be. The scenes of relic-procession represent how the casket containing the remains of the funeral pyre in it was carried to the site where it was deposited. One of the Pillar full medallions contains a geometrical symbol, which may be taken to represent the ground plan of the brick-mound. It shows that the layers of large bricks were so

¹ The expression *dhātu-oropaṇa* suggests the allegory of planting the seed, no doubt, of the tree of art, the tree of faith and culture.

² Here it is not the implication that the Muhammadan invaders were directly the agents of destruction of this particular sanctuary. The Muhammadan invasion wiped out the Buddhist influence, and left none to take proper care of it. See Vincent A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 73.

arranged as to illustrate various permutations and combinations of Svastikas¹. The forms changed or were modified with times and according to localities, the process being one of differentiation or harmonisation between the mound on one hand and the mansion or temple on the other. The tope built by the Śākya kinsmen of the Buddha over their portion of the remains of his funeral pyre is an earlier example, which is still in ruins and has not as yet been restored². The Ahin Posh tope, restored by Mr. W. Simpson, is a later example, and it shows a long flight of steps in front, leading up to the dome³.

Buddhaghosha gives the following description of the tope built by, and during the reign, of King Ajātaśatru for hoarding the relics in one place (dhātu-nidhāna). His description is evidently coloured by, if not actually based upon, what he saw at Thūpārāma in Ceylon⁴. At the start the bricks were made out of pure earth dug out of a field to the south-east of Rājagṛīha. The people were told that the king's intention was to build some shrines in honour of the eighty great Disciples. When the cavity had been dug so deep as 80 cubits, the bed was metallised with iron, and upon it was built a chamber of copper and iron of the same dimension as the shrine of Thūpārāma. In this chamber were placed eight mound-shaped relic-boxes of white sandal, containing the relics of the Buddha. Each of these was put within seven other boxes of red sandal, of ivory, and the like, the uppermost one being made of crystal. All these were covered up by three chambers, one within another, the uppermost one of copper and iron serving as the upper half of the chamber-box. Having scattered sand with seven precious metals, one thousand lotus flowers growing on land and in water were strewn over it. Five hundred and fifty Jātaka-illustrations and the figures of eighty great Disciples and those of Śuddhodana and Mahāmāyā as well as those of seven comrades were made all in gold. Five thousand gold and silver jars filled with water were set up, five hundred golden flags were hoisted, five hundred golden lamps and silver lamps of equal number were filled with fragrant oil and provided with wick on two sides. The Venerable Mahākāśyapa sanctified them, saying, "Let these garlands never wither, let this fragrance never vanish and let these lamps never become extinct." A prophesy was inscribed on a gold-plate to the effect that King Aśoka would in time to come spread these relics far and wide. The king having honoured the relics with all kinds of jewellery, came out shutting the doors one by one. The door of the copper-and-iron chamber was sealed, and upon it was placed a piece of precious gem with an inscription, authorising the poorer kings to honour

¹ Scene No. 23 (e). ² Buddhist India, p. 133. ³ Buddhist India, p. 83.

⁴ Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., Part II. pp. 271-276.

the relics with its aid. Thereafter Śakra sent Viśvakarmā to do all that was needed to protect the hoarded relics. He set up traps to keep off wild animals (vāḷasaṅghāṭayanta), surrounded the relic-chamber (dhātugabbha) by a wooden enclosure with wooden posts carved with the figures of soldiers holding swords (asihaṭṭhāni kaṭṭharūpakāni), and encircled the same by stone in the manner of a brick-structure. After having thrown dust-heap over it, and levelled the ground, a stone-mound was built covering it. When King Aśoka opened this tope after 218 years, he saw the oil-lamps burning as though they were just now lit up, and the lotus-flowers fresh as though they were just now gathered and offered.

The story of Dharmaruchi in the Divyāvadāna contains the description of another example of a tope. Here the tope, among other details, is said to have four stair-cases with steps leading, layer after layer, up to the dome with a crowning construction, surmounted by an umbrella, inlaid with all precious metals. On its four sides there were four doorways and four shrines, one containing the representation of the scene of birth, and the fourth that of demise of the Buddha¹.

(13) There are a few other examples of Yaksha scenes and figures that do not bear labels recording names of the demigods, or survive only in fragments. Among the figures of demigoddesses, one has to note four representations of Śrī² and two of Śrīmā³. Śrī is represented as a goddess either seated cross-legged or standing gracefully on a full-blown lotus in the midst of a lotus-shrub, being anointed with water from two jars held over her head by two elephants from two sides, standing on two lotus flowers. The shrub grows out of an ornamented water-pot. The representation in which the goddess is seated cross-legged with joined hands held under her breast fills one of the Quadrant Rail medallions, and of the remaining three representations where the goddess remains standing, two fill two full medallions on a Return Pillar and one occupies a Return Coping panel. Āśā (Hope), Śraddhā (Faith), Hri (Modesty) and Śrī (Beauty) are the four sister Graces, the daughters of Śakra. They are the northern or Aryan goddesses or poetic personifications of abstract conceptions, of tender aspects of the Divine Being. Here they represent the artistic forms adored by the lotus-shaped human heart, placed under the apex of two elephant-like lungs, touching each other at a point. Śrīmā is represented either standing with even feet on a level ground or on a straight roof, either holding a dhuturā flower or a bunch of lotus. Śrīmātī, Yaśamatī, Lakshmīmatī or Yaśaḥprāptā and Yaśodharā are mentioned as four goddesses in the realm of Virūḍhaka. Their prominent hips and

¹ Divyāvadāna, p. 244. ² Scenes Nos. 79-80. ³ Scenes Nos. 7, 78.

heaving busts are expressive of the power of production and feeding. They represent concrete embodiments of the ideal house-wife, and as a type they are eastern or southern, eastern because Siri as Sirimā is also connected with Dhritarāshṭra the Sirima.

Among other notable representations, the figure of Gaṅgā and that of a lotus-nymph cannot but strike attention. Gaṅgā is represented as a goddess riding on an elephant-faced crocodile on the surface of a large river, where one can see here and there the lotus shrub with flowers¹. The Lotus-nymph remaining waiting with a large harp in her hands. Sarasvatī, the goddess of science and art, appears to have been in her earlier representation but a Lotus-nymph, the invention of the harp marking a great step in the history of human culture².

(14) The existing carvings or fragments contain full representations or bear traces of not less than twenty-five uninscribed Jātaka-scenes illustrating the stories of the past. These together with the inscribed ones can be tabulated as follows³ :—

Plate in Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut if not otherwise mentioned.	Name and number of Jātaka in Fausboll's edition, if the story is not a different one.
XXXIV. 1	... Vaṇṇupatha (2)
XLVIII. 2	... Makhādeva (9)
XLIII. 12	... Nigrodhamiga (12)
XLIV. 8	... Tipallatta (16)
XLVI. 1	... Bhojājāniya (23)
XXVII. 11	... Nachcha (32)
Indian Museum 60	... Kaṇha (29)
XXVII. 15	... Sammodamāna (33)
XLV. 7	... Kapota (42, 375); (Lola (274), Kāka (395))
XLV. 5	... Ārāmadūsaka (46)
	... Ārāmadūsa (268)
XXVI. 8	... Aṇḍabhūta (62)
XLV. 9	... Litta (91)
XLVII. 9	... Asilakkhaṇa (126)

¹ Scene No. 77. ² Scene No. 81.

³ Compare the list in Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Serg ed' Oldenbourg's Table in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. XVIII, 1897, Rhys Davids' Table in Buddhist India, p, 209, Hultzsch's list in J. R. A. S, 1912.

Plate in Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, if not otherwise mentioned.	Name and number of Jātaka in Fausboll's edition, if the story is not a different one.
Indian Museum 114 ...	Indasamānagotta (161)
XXVIII. 7 ...	Mittāmita (197)
XLVI. 8 ...	Makkaka (173)
XXVII. 13 ...	Dūbhiyamakkaka (174)
Cunningham's Photograph } ...	Asadisa (181)
XXXII. 4 ...	Sanāmāvachara (182)
Indian Museum 9 (26) b ...	Valāhassa (196)
XLIV. 4 ...	Gahapati (199)
XXVII. 9 ...	Kuruṅgamiga (206)
XLVIII. 4 ...	Mūlapariyāya (245)
XLII. 1 ...	Maṇikaṇṭha (253)
XXV. 2 ...	Kakkaka (267)
XLIII. 4 ...	Vyaggha (272)
XXVII. 10 ...	Vaka (300)
Missing ...	Suchchaja (320)
XLI. 1, 3 ...	Chammasātaka (324)
XIV ...	Kaṇḍari (341)
	Episode in Kuṇāla (536)
XLIV. 6 ...	Ambachora (344)
Indian Museum 29 (2) b ...	Gajakumbha (345)
XLVII. 3 ...	Sujāta (352)
Missing ...	Dhonasāka (353)
XLVII. 7 ...	Uruga (354)
XXVI. 5 ...	Laṭukikā (357)
XLIII. 8 ...	Migapotaka (372)
XLVII. 5 ...	Kukkuṭa (383)
XLI. 5 ...	Sūchi (387)
XLVI. 2 ...	Dabbhapuppha (400)
XXXIII. 4 ...	Mahākapi (407)
XV. ...	Samugga (436)
XLIII. 6, XLVIII. 6 ...	Mātiposaka (455)
XXVIII. 12 ...	Episode in Takkārīya (481)
XXV. 1 ...	Ruru (482)

Plate in Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, if not otherwise mentioned.	Name and number of Jātaka in Fausboll's edition, if the story is not a different one.	
XX	...	Chandakinnara (485)
XLVIII. 7	...	Bhisa (488)
XXVI. 6	...	Chhaddanta (514)
XXXIII. 7	...	Mahākapi (516)
XLVI. 4	...	Sarabhaṅga (522)
XXVI. 7	...	Alambūsā (523)
	...	Nalinikā (526)
XXVII. 14	...	Mahābodhi (528)
XLV. 3	...	Kusa (531)
XXV. 4	...	Mūgapakkha (539)
XLIV. 2	...	Episode in Mahājanaka (540)
XVIII	...	Vidhūrapaṇḍita (545)
XXV. 3	...	Episode in Mahāummagga (546)
Indian Museum 116	...	Kurudhamma (276)
	...	Episode in Vessantara (547)
Fragment	...	Some unknown Jātaka
XV, XXX. 2.	—	Mahāvāṇija (493)
XLII. 7	—	Madhupīṇḍika story in Apadāna (97)
XLVIII. 9.	—	Vaḍikavastu in Avadānaśataka
XLII. 9	—	Chullakasetṭhi (4)
XXXIV. 3	—	Kokasunakhavatthu in Dhamma-pada-Commentary
XXXIII. 1-3	—	Giant and Monkeys
XL. 2-5	—	Some story of Hell

(15) The Barhut carvings illustrating the stories of the present and those of the past represent a distinct Jātaka-Selection with a sketch of the life of the Buddha, which presupposes an earlier collection of legends and stories, known at the time. The largest collection of Birth-stories working out a comprehensive scheme of the life of the Buddha is the Pāli Jātaka-Commentary. It is doubtful if the earlier Pāli Canonical collection of 500 ballads contained any stories of the present. There are several Jātaka-Selections in Buddhist literature. According to a tradition in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, each school of Buddhist Schismatics abandoned the original authorised

collection and made a selection suiting its purpose¹. But Pāli literature itself contains sufficient evidence to show that the Sthavīras themselves made selections, or conceived schemes for selections. These Selections and their schemes developed on three different lines: (1) comprising only the stories of the present, (2) comprising only the stories of the past, and (3) including both. The Barhut sketch of the life of the Buddha is based upon the legends and stories that mostly correspond to those in Pāli. Some of the special legends containing the stories of the present correspond to certain episodes in the *Lalita-Vistara* which is known to be a Sarvāstivāda work². The legends and stories in the *Mahāvastu* which is known to be the first work of the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Lokottaravāda section of the Mahāsaṅghikas³ can be altogether dispensed with except for explaining some points in two scenes⁴. The story of Dharmaruchi in the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Avadānakalpalatā* is essential in explaining the details of the scene of Vasugupta being rescued from the grip of the *Timiṅgila*⁵. Similarly the story of Mahākapi in Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* and that of Vaḍika in the *Avadānaśataka* are indispensable in describing and identifying two other scenes⁶. The *Lalita-Vistara*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Avadānakalpalatā*, the *Jātakamālā* and the *Avadānaśataka* can all be taken to represent broadly the Sarvāstivāda tradition. On a closer examination it will be found that the scenes based upon the legends corresponding to those in the *Lalita-Vistara* appear mostly on some of the Return pillars which were evidently later additions made probably during the reign of King Dhanabhūti. The influx of the tradition of the Sarvāstivāda school can be easily accounted for, if one remembers that Mathurā was in the 2nd or 1st century B. C. one of the strongholds of its adherents. But there can be no denying the fact that the Sarvāstivāda legends and stories were accommodated within a scheme prepared by the Sthavīras. The Barhut Coping panels alternately represent the effort of the Bodhisat made in each birth and the fruition that followed. The fruition is represented by a peculiar grouping of fruits and flower ornaments. These broadly fall into ten classes, each class symbolising a particular Pāramitā. It is well-known that all the schools but that of the Sthavīras recognised only six Pāramitās, and none but the Sthavīras recognised ten. This, too, may be treated as an independent evidence showing that the Barhut scheme was that of the Sthavīras. When Hwen Tshang visited India in the 7th century A. D., he saw adherents of different schools residing in the same Saṅghārāma⁷, and it is a legitimate inference that 'the acrimony of their early hostile relations diminished a good deal at the time'⁸.

¹ *Dīpavaṃsa*, Chapters IV and V.

⁴ Scenes Nos. 69 and 109.

⁷ *Watt's* Yuan Chwang, I. p. 279.

² Nanjio's Catalogue No. 163.

⁵ Scene No. 85.

⁸ Scene No. 10.

³ *Mahāvastu*, Senart's edition, I. p. 2.

⁶ Scenes Nos. 122 and 144.

The Barhut carvings go to prove that such reconciliations were a much earlier process in the history of Buddhism.

(15) The Barhut Jātaka-scenes are important as indicating the existence of a collection of Birth-stories. One of the Pāli Canonical books, namely, the Chulla-Niddesa refers to a collection of 500 stories (pañcha Jātaka-satāni)¹. The reference is apparently to the Canonical Jātaka book, included in the Sutta-Piṭaka. The stories presupposed by the carvings differ in details from those in the Sutta-Piṭaka collection, and approach those in the Jātaka-Commentary, compiled in the 5th century A. D., if not later. When this was compiled, the traditional total of the Birth-stories was 550. Buddhaghosha himself knew this to be the total number. But when Fa Hian visited Ceylon in the early part of the 5th century A. D., he saw representations of 500 Birth-stories round the Abhayagiri monastery. This number tallies with the total given in the Chulla-Niddesa. The Commentary edited by Fausboll is the Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā which refers to an earlier Sinhalese Commentary, the Jātakāṭṭhakathā with which Buddhaghosha was acquainted. In Fausboll's edition the Commentary collection contains 547 Jātakas, falling short of the later traditional total by just three stories. The following are the processes whereby the number increased from 500 to 550 :—

- (a) Repetition of the same story under the same or different title e.g., Kapota (F. 42), Lola (F. 274), Kapota (F. 375) and Kāka (F. 395) ; Indasamānagotta (F. 161) and Mittāmita (F. 197) ; Bhojājāniya (F. 23) and Ājañña (F. 24) ; Ārāmadūsaka (F. 46) and Ārāmadūsa (F. 268) ; Losaka (F. 41), Mittavinda (F. 82), Mittavinda (F. 104), Mittavinda (F. 369) and Chatudvāra (F. 439) ; Phala (F. 54) and Kimpakka (F. 85) ; Nandivisāla (F. 28) and Sārambha (F. 88) ; Parosahassa (F. 99), Parosata (F. 101), Jhānasodhana (F. 134) and Chandābha (F. 135) Sāketa (F. 68) and Sāketa (F. 237) ; Mahāpanāda (F. 264) and Suruchi (F. 489) ; Ekarāja (F. 303) and Maṇikuṇḍala (F. 351) Kākāti (F. 327) and Sussondi (F. 360) ; Akataññu (F. 90) and Hiri (F. 363) ; Makkata (F. 173) and Kapi (F. 250).
- (b) Repetition of the same story conveying slightly different morals, e.g., Kharādīya (F. 15) and Tipallattha (F. 16) ; Vānarinda (F. 57) and Kumbhila (F. 224).
- (c) Repetition of the same story with the change in the personnel, e.g., Ruchira (F. 275) and Kapota (F. 42) ; Ghata (F. 355) and Ekarāja

¹ Chulla-Niddesa, p. 80.

- (F. 303) ; Veḷuka (F. 43) and Indasamānagotta (F. 161) ; Migapotaka (F. 372) and Somadatta (F. 410).
- (d) Manipulation of different stories to impress the same moral e.g., Sujāta (F. 352), Matarodana (F. 317), Ananusochaniya (F. 328) and Maṭṭakunḍali (F. 449).
- (e) Development of different stories with the same plot, e.g., Kurudhamma (F. 276) and Vessantara (F. 547).
- (f) Multiplication of the stories with the same hero, e.g., Alambusā (F. 523) and Nalinikā (F. 526) ; Vidhūra-Paṇḍita (F. 545), Dhūmakāri (F. 413) and Dasabrāhmaṇa (F. 495).
- (g) Separation of parts from a whole, e.g., Kakaṇṭaka (F. 170) Siri-kālakaṇṇi (F. 192), Devatāpaṇha (F. 350) Khajjopanaka, Bhūripaṇha (F. 452), Meṇḍaka (F. 471), Sirimanda (F. 500) and Pañchapaṇḍita (F. 508) from Mahāummagga (F. 546) ; Kaṇḍari (F. 341), Chulla-Kuṇāla (F. 464) from Kuṇāla (F. 536) ; Chatuposathika (F. 441) from Puṇṇaka or Vidhūra-Paṇḍita (F. 545).

(16) The scene of sufferings of sinners in a hell is rather out of place, having no intimate connection with the Barhut Jātaka-scheme. It is assigned a place only in an outer arm, in the four Return Coping panels. A man and a woman are represented as suffering torments for the uncondoned sin of poisoning innocent people, the little boy and the little girl who were children of the woman. The particular hell where they are in this plight is Kakola-niraya, the infernal region in which the wild crow, the kite, the vulture and such other birds victimise the unfortunate sinners. The conception is anthropomorphic, the picture of the hell reminding one of the fate of corpses thrown away or of criminals left standing, bound hand and foot, in a charnel-field, infested with the carnivorous birds. The use of stories or pictures of sufferings in hells as a means of deterring men from sinful acts was against the spirit of early Buddhism, and the general spirit of this religion. The representations of stories of persons enjoying a glorious life in a heaven as a moral incentive were tried on a large scale. The glorious life in heaven (sagga-kathā) is one of the topics which the monks were asked by the Buddha to dwell upon in instructing the householders. The Suttanta-Jātakas representing the Birth-stories in their earliest forms illustrate living examples of persons whom the gods were proud to welcome into their celestial mansions. The inscriptions of Aśoka bear out the Buddhist emperor's keen interest in inducing his subjects and the whole of mankind by holding out prospects of immediate reward here. These also proclaim the emperor's boast of success in bring-

ing the gods and men together. The *Petavatthu* or Book of Stories of Hell itself was a post-Mauryan composition¹, and at the same time a literary offshoot of the *Vimānavatthu* or Book of Stories of Heaven. The art of general persuasion of the people to be moral and pious by means of narrations and pictures of glories of heavenly life, and of checking the tyrants and sinners by means of grim stories of sufferings in hell is pre-Buddhistic and it was successfully tried by the hermits and wandering ascetics. Painting had, of course, its full share in the task. It is certain that some of the ascetics made a powerful appeal by means of pictures illustrating the terrible fate of sinners in hell and the happy lot of pious men in heaven. These pictures as means of popular instruction served the purpose of modern lantern slides or films. There arose and existed in the country a distinct class of teachers and friar-like Brahmin ascetics who took up this kind of instruction as their exclusive profession. They were known to the Buddhists as *Nakhas* and to the Jains as *Mañkhas*. Their usual way was to wander about with a variety of pictures caused to be drawn upon a portable frame-work, depicting scenes of good and bad destinies, of fortunes and misfortunes, with labels inscribing 'By doing this deed one attains this', and 'By doing that one experiences that'². In the *Mudrārākshasa* and the *Harshacharita* these *Yamapaṭas* or Death-pictures are associated with the *Kshapaṇakas* or Naked ascetics. The tradition of this art survives in modern Indian paintings. The pictures of this class are aptly designated in Buddhist literature as *charaṇa* or *karaṇa chitra*, the rambling or improvised pictures that were praised by the Buddha himself as the best example of pictorial art³. One of the legends in the *Divyāvadāna*⁴ clearly shows how the bas-reliefs and frescoes replaced these earlier paintings in later Buddhism. In order that all other *Bhikshus* might become as great a leader and eloquent a preacher as *Mahāmaudgalyāyana*, the Buddha is said to have suggested: "The wheel of life with five divisions should be represented on the doorway (of the *Veṇuvana* monastery), showing the five destinies of men, namely, those typified by the infernal creatures, the brute, the departed spirits, the gods and the human beings. In the lowest division are to be shown the infernal creatures, the brute world and the departed spirits; in the upper division the gods, men and the four continents (*Pūrvavideha*, *Aparagodānīya*, *Uttarakuru* and *Jambudvīpa*); in the middle parts Passion, Hatred and Delusion,—

¹ Buddhist India, p. 176.

² *Sārattha-Pakāsinī*, Siamese Ed., Part II, p. 398; Barua's History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, *Gārgya-yana's Ethics*; Stella Kramrisch's *Vishṇudharmottara*, p. 5.

³ On all these and other points, see Barua's monograph on Books of Stories of Heaven and Hell forming the Appendix of B. C. Law's *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, Calcutta, 1925.

⁴ *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 300-303.

Passion in the form of a pigeon, Hatred in that of a serpent, Delusion in that of a boar, as well as the Buddha-image, the circle of Nirvāṇa, and the chance-born beings, the last as rising and falling in the form of the rope-and-bucket of a well ; while surrounding all is to be engraved the Buddhist Wheel of Life, divided into 12 segments and revolving forwards and backwards. The representations must set forth concrete examples of the different ways and actions leading persons along these destinies. The Wheel of Life must be accompanied by the inscription recording the two verses urging—

“Proceed, O man, come out, and flock to Buddha’s standard,
Shatter Death’s legion, as elephant tramples house of reed, not hard”.

61. Special use of Gesture :—All the Jātaka-scenes and decorative designs, taken together, represent the special use of Gesture. The Jātaka-scenes contain representations of several interesting details of Indian life. These set forth rocky mountains, hills and precipices, forests and woodlands, lakes and rivers, seas and deserts, tanks and wells, cities and hermitages, towns and villages, parks and groves, gardens and funeral grounds, land and water, beasts and birds, reptiles and insects, fishes and flies, trees and creepers, shrubs and bushes, flowers and fruits, stones and jewels, men and women, apparels and ornaments, marks and signs, caves and mansions, weapons and conveyances, and sorrows and amusements as physical features and natural environments. The forests abound in fauna and flora, and the woodlands afford feeding grounds. Whether lakes or rivers, seas or deserts, parks or forests, there is not a region in nature which is not both a scene of life and of death, of peace and of disturbance, of security and of danger.

In one scene, the tigers in a body appear in a woodland to victimise a herd of deer that have found there a grazing ground.¹ In a second, the crane-like birds are catching small fishes, swallowing insects or eating seaweeds on the outer end of a strip of land under water during the high tide of a large river.² In a third, a she-cat offers herself to be the loving wife of a cock on a tree-top, meaning to induce him to come down, be within her reach and killed.³ In a fourth, a wild duck is swallowing a large fish in a lake, and a monster crab is at a tug-of-war with a mighty elephant, the former forcibly dragging the latter towards it for its food and the latter with the help of his mate pulling the former up to crush it under his feet.⁴ In a fifth, the cranes or ducks move about in a lotus-lake in search of food, while a fox lies in wait or rushes forward to seize them.⁵ In a

¹ Scene No. 108. ² Scene No. 69. ³ Scene No. 119. ⁴ Scene No. 107. ⁵ Scene No. 70.

sixth, two otters on the bank of a river quarrel with each other over the division of a red fish pulled out of water and killed by them, while a clever jackal volunteering to make an equitable division, walks off taking the lion's share and smiling.¹ In a seventh, a fox in forest follows a bull, intending to kill him, while the bull remaining in water on a marshy ground, skilfully leads the fox to a spot where a man-laid trap (*vālasaṅghāṭayanta*) was waiting to entrap and hang him up.² In an eighth, the monster fish *Timiṅgila* rises up in sea-water, and remains opening out his jaws after forcing out water from his belly and producing a depression and whirlpool, compelling the smaller fishes to rush into his mouth and endangering the life of the passengers of the merchant vessels that happened to be within his purview.³

There is one scene, in which a primitive hunter pierces with his spear a wild boar, attacked by his two dogs from two sides.⁴ There is another, in which a professional hunter of the same savage stock starts with his old-fashioned bow and arrows for the woodland to kill an antelope, for whom he carefully laid a trap near a lake.⁵ There is a third, in which a professional fowler, the hunter's weaker cousin, has succeeded in catching some quails with his net.⁶ There is a fourth, in which a royal hunter, still retaining his old savage instinct, has made his way into a distant forest, armed with new-fashioned bow and arrows, and is cutting the teeth of a six-tusked elephant with a saw, to collect ivory for a queen at the cost of the noble beast's life.⁷ There is a fifth, in which a king has gone into a forest with his large bow and sharp arrows to shoot a deer-king who lived peacefully near a river.⁸ There is a sixth, in which one sees a royal camp in a forest guarding a banian tree with delicious fruits and surrounding a troop of monkeys that came to enjoy the bounties of nature.⁹ There is a seventh, in which an execution-block has been permanently laid in a royal garden for daily beheading with an axe a forced and apparently willing victim among the imprisoned deer.¹⁰

Now look into a scene, where a queen takes pride in convincing the king of her maternity¹¹. Look into another, where the very idea of the advent of a new child sets the heavenly damsels singing the joy, accompanied by music and dancing¹². Look into a third, where the angels come down in a body to greet the newly born human child and announce the glory of the world that lies before

¹ Scene No. 121.

² Scene No. 103.

³ Scene No. 122.

⁴ Scene No. 109.

⁵ Scene No. 93.

¹⁰ Scene No. 88.

⁶ Scene No. 85.

⁷ Scene No. 123.

¹¹ Scene No. 133.

⁴ Scene No. 146.

⁵ Scene No. 126.

¹² Scene No. 34

it¹. But look into a fourth², where a king, ashamed of his son because of his incurable dumbness and lameness, asks the royal charioteer to carry him to a charnel-field and bury him alive. Look, if you have patience, into a fifth, where a wicked housewife poisons the food she cooks to get rid of her husband and conspires with a second man to kill her two children by poison, and that only to suffer a condign punishment here and a severer consequence hereafter³.

In one scene, the chance of marrying the daughter of golden mallard, the king of birds, makes a peacock rapturously dance, displaying the wealth of his plumage⁴. In another, the voice of a she-elephant induces a monster crab to loosen its grip only to hasten its own destruction⁵. In a third, a Brahmin youth learns wisdom to answer the questions of a Nāga maiden and walks into a large flowing river to reach her⁶. In a fourth, a daring Yaksha, the nephew of Vaiśravaṇa Kuvera, artfully gets possession of Vidūra, the wise Kuru-councillor, carries him through the air and tries to kill him by striking his head against rocks for the sake of a Nāga princess he wanted to marry⁷. In a fifth, the attraction of a Kinnarī compels a king to seize her forcibly and make a shameless offer of love⁸. In a sixth, a young man lies down in a charnel-grove, pretending to be dead, as a means of getting hold of a young woman he loved and had her brought there⁹. In a seventh, a young smith invents some wonderful needles and goes out on a hawking errand for winning the affection of the head-smith's daughter¹⁰.

Now mark the contrast. In one scene, a demon fails to prevent his wife, even by shutting her up in a box, from intriguing with a Vidyādhara¹¹. In another, a Brahmin chaplain fails to protect his young wife even by rearing her up from her very birth in strict seclusion¹². In a third, the headman enters, on the pretext of demanding the price of the cow he lent, into the house of another man of his village in the latter's absence and trembles in fear of detection in spite of the woman's clever attempt to prove his innocence to her husband¹³. In a fourth, a king detects the queen's intrigues and takes her to task for the same¹⁴. In a fifth, a king, determined to forsake the world, finds it difficult to do so for his queen who has followed him, entreating him to return¹⁵. In a sixth, at the suggestion of a courtesan and the Brahmin minister, the king believes a hermit to be an ill-luck and trying to get rid of sin on his person humiliates him and brings ruin on himself and his kingdom in consequence¹⁶.

¹ Scene No. 37.

² Scene No. 107.

³ Scene No. 97.

¹⁰ Scene No. 102.

² Scene No. 134.

⁶ Scene No. 69.

¹⁰ Scene No. 120.

¹⁴ Scene No. 112.

³ Scene No. 10.

⁷ Scene No. 136.

¹¹ Scene No. 123.

¹⁵ Scene No. 135.

⁴ Scene No. 91.

⁵ Scene No. 19.

¹² Scene No. 95a.

¹⁶ Scene No. 13 a.

This is not all. Here again is a scene, in which a gluttonous crow sitting in the basket kept hanging from the roof of a house for giving shelter to wild pigeons coming as guests, as an expression of human cordiality, conceives a longing for some dishes prepared in the kitchen only to endanger its life by going to taste something which is not its usual food¹. Here is a second, in which a sharper concealing a dice by swallowing it against the rule of gambling as a means of deceiving, is himself deceived one day as he swallows the dice without knowing that it was rubbed with poison². Here is a third, in which a snake bites and kills on the spot the only son of a Brahmin family, misapprehending his real intention³. Here is a fourth, in which, in spite of best intentions, the monkeys destroy the young plants by uprooting them for watering⁴. Here is a fifth, in which a troop of monkeys proceed, as a means of escape from the clutches of a giant, to capture and drag an elephant for extracting his teeth⁵. Here is a sixth, in which the usurper king of Kosala proceeds to invade Kapilavāstu and decimate the Śākya in spite of their non-violent attitude⁶. Here is a seventh, in which a man breaks the head of a monkey who saves him⁷. Here is an eighth, in which a thirsty monkey returns the kindness of a Brahmin with grimace⁸. Here is a ninth, in which a man ungratefully betrays a deer-king who saves his life at the risk of his own⁹. Here is a tenth, in which an elephant ruthlessly kills an ascetic who rears him as his own son¹⁰. In the same series there is one, where a ram strikes an ascetic on his thigh, fatally wounding the innocent man who stands showing respect to the beast and expecting the same in return¹¹. There is another, where a happy Kinnara couple, captured and brought into the presence of a king, stand trembling in fear of life¹². There is a third, where a powerful king is guarded by amazonian women in apprehension of danger¹³. There is a fourth, where a poor man is groaning under the weight of a lord of wealth who uses him as a vehicle¹⁴.

In one example, an ascetic who is supposed to be free from personal attachment and sorrow rears a pet deer, and bitterly laments over its loss.¹⁵ In another, a second ascetic who is supposed to be free from all associations sadly misses the warmth of a serpent's embrace¹⁶. In a third, a third ascetic who is supposed to have foregone all earthly possessions keeps up an orchard and charges men with theft when the fruit trees are plundered in his absence¹⁷. In a fourth

¹ Scene No. 94.² Scene No. 96.³ Scene No. 116.⁴ Scene No. 95.⁵ Scene No. 148.⁶ Scene No. 53.⁷ Scene No. 129.⁸ Scene No. 99.⁹ Scene No. 126.¹⁰ Scene No. 98.¹¹ Scene No. 111.¹² Scene No. 125.¹³ Scene No. 51.¹⁴ Scene No. 60.¹⁵ Scene No. 118.¹⁶ Scene No. 106.¹⁷ Scene No. 113.

a banghi-load ascetic who is supposed not to care for worldly honour is mortally wounded by a ram as a result of false expectations of courtesy from the brute¹. In a fifth, a wanderer who is supposed to have no slanderer and no fear of danger because of his innocence and goodness is warned by a dog as he comes to his usual visits to a royal palace intimating that the king, instigated by some interested persons, laid a plan to get rid of him².

But look again and observe how the rose-apple trees, adorning the top of Mt. Naḍoda, supply the human couple in exile with delicious fruits,³ or how a bushy creeping plant, growing on the same rocky mountain, is filled with juicy balm that serves to heal an obnoxious skin-disease⁴. See that a sandy desert, where the caravan merchants are in distress, contains in its bosom a stream of cool and refreshing water that gushes forth through a hole to quench the thirst of men⁵. Watch how the same Timiṅgila which has endangered the life of the crew and passengers of merchant-vessels serves at last as a protector⁶.

Mark how good motives have their play behind bad ones. The appearance of tigers in a grazing ground of deer is a cause of destruction of innocent life of stinking smell, and at the same time their advents are a means of protection of the trees and jungles growing there⁷. The crocodile is undoubtedly the most dreadful agent of destruction of life in a river. This very crocodile appears to be a vehicle of Gaṅgā, the benign deity, who is the custodian of fishes and of the purity of water. The crocodile's presence, ferocity and movements serve to protect the fishes from attacks from outside, to maintain peace and equilibrium in the internal life of the river, as well as to save water from pollution by dead bodies. The movements of crocodiles, fishes and birds suggest the mechanism of the art of ship-building, while the trees cast adrift suggest the nature of required material⁸. The dragon is the most dreadful creature among the dwellers of a lake in the forest. The actual presence of this creature serves to protect the lake from foreign invasions and maintain the tension and equilibrium in its internal life. The creation of a figure of dragon as a work of art and the installation of it in the bottom of a tank at the time of its excavation serve to protect its water from pollution and disturbance⁹. The masked warriors, serving as soldiers, are the dreaded agents employed by the state to protect the people from foreign attacks and maintain internal peace and

¹ Scene No. 111.

² Scene No. 86.

³ Scene No. 77.

⁴ Scene No. 132.

⁵ Scene No. 85.

⁶ Scene No. 83.

⁷ Scene No. 140.

⁸ Scene No. 144.

⁹ Scene No. 108.

order. The figures of Yakshas as a creation of art stand as guards for a sanctuary with all its enshrined precious objects¹.

Now observe, if you are interested, how necessity is the mother of invention and good cometh out of evil. The caravan merchants dying of thirst in a desert, make search for water, and eventually acquire the art of locating the spot where water can be had, and find out the means of having a supply of water by sinking wells². The fascination of a maiden of high family leads a young smith to invent wonderful needles³. The earnest desire of a woodpecker to rescue its friend, the antelope, enables it to devise various means.⁴ The fear of life leads a troop of monkeys to devise the means of catching a mighty elephant and employing him to serve their purpose.⁵ The dispute between two women about the ownership of a bundle of thread gives the banker's son an opportunity to display his power of judgment⁶. The instinct of self-preservation impels the spotted deer to learn ruses and to develop a method of training therein⁷. The defiance on the part of resident pupils makes the teacher find out the way of taming them.⁸ Disease compels man to extract healing balm.⁹

Nothing is absolutely good or bad. The goodness or badness of a thing are merely relative. The goodness or badness of an action is not inherent in it, but lies in the manner of doing it. The woodpecker which is a bird of ill omen to a hunter, is a messenger of heaven to an antelope that is caught in the hunter's trap. The jackal who acts as a cheat to two otters proves to be a worthy husband to his mate.¹⁰ The ascetic shows a magnanimity of human heart by rearing up a deer as his own son, but as an ascetic he betrays his weakness when he bitterly laments over its loss.¹¹ The use of oaths as a test of innocence of persons charged with theft by an ascetic on grounds of private ownership is bad.¹² The use of the same as a test by all persons to prove their innocence, of their own accord, is good.¹³ The gathering of lotus-stalks with flowers is bad as it leads one to do injury to lotus plants. This is good when it is done by a son to carry food for his mother dying of hunger.¹⁴ The plucking of flowers is bad for the same reason, but this is praised when it is done for making offerings to a sanctuary.¹⁵

The realm of nature presents settlements with the predominance of a certain form of life or class of beings. This predominance results either from a purely natural

¹ Scenes Nos. 57 foll.

² Scene No. 148.

³ Scene No. 144.

⁴ Scene No. 127.

⁵ Scene No. 86.

⁶ Scene No. 137.

⁷ Scene No. 121.

⁸ Scene No. 124.

⁹ Scene No. 120.

¹⁰ Scene No. 89.

¹¹ Scene No. 118.

¹² Scene Nos. 26-32.

¹³ Scene No. 103.

¹⁴ Scene No. 104.

¹⁵ Scene No. 111.

evolution or from the human art of cultivation. A settlement with the predominance of the Śirīsha trees becomes known as a Śirīsha-forest¹. An enclosure with the predominance of the fruit-trees is called an orchard², and one with the predominance of the mango-plants comes to be distinguished as a mango-grove³. A woodland with the predominance of the deer is known as a deer-forest⁴; a jungle with the predominance of the elephants among its inhabitants is designated an elephant-forest⁵, and one with the predominance of the monkeys a monkey-forest⁶. A locality with the predominance of human beings becomes famous as a lokālaya or human habitation⁷.

In each group of living substances and in each class of living beings one sees the development of a type and the evolution of a great personality and a natural leadership. A tree endowed with personality and burdened with leadership reigns on the spot as a lord of a forest⁸. An antelope with such personality and leadership comes to be recognised as the lord of a herd of deer⁹, an elephant that of a herd of elephants³, a fish that of a swarm of fishes, a bird that of a flight of birds, a snake that of a class of reptiles, an animal that of a group of beasts, and a man that of a family of human beings. By virtue of personal majesty, nobility, power, energy and vigilance, unsurpassed by others, the Ānanda comes to be acknowledged as the king of the world of fishes, the golden mallard that of the world of birds, the cobra that of the world of reptiles, the lion that of the world of beasts, and the emperor that of the world of men. By a close association friendship grows between different classes of beings, between an antelope, a woodpecker and a tortoise⁴; between a man and a deer⁵, nay, between a man and such a deadly creature as a serpent⁶. By the extension of power, the control of one world extends over another. From the development of communal life emanate certain rules of conduct held binding upon the individuals living under it, and the leader, lord or king is expected to act as the custodian and upholder of the social order. Experience suggests that these rules cannot be uniformly enforced in all cases, and gradually mercy comes to be recognised as a principle above mere justice and the feeling grows that it is better to die under a leader with whom mercy is above justice than remain alive under one to whom the law is an end rather than a means⁷. The members of a class or those of a community rally for their self-interest round their own leader and form a regiment, some acting as generals, some as sentinels, some doing other works according to directions, parts and training¹⁵. Thus hierarchies develop within or

¹ Scene No. 69.² Scene No. 95.³ Scene No. 51.⁴ Scenes Nos. 89, 126.⁵ Scenes Nos. 107, 117, 128.⁶ Scenes Nos. 122, 148.⁷ Scene No. 137.⁸ Scene No. 69.⁹ Scene No. 126.¹⁰ Scene No. 117.¹¹ Scene No. 103.¹² Scene No. 118.¹³ Scene No. 106.¹⁴ Scene No. 88.¹⁵ Scene No. 83.

go to form a larger hierarchy, the larger hierchies develop within or go to form a still larger hierarchy ad infinitum, and all within an organic frame of natural evolution in the widest sense.

Willy nilly, the large majority of individuals accept this hierarchy as an established system. The few of them who are led by the separatist spirit become isolated. These latter individuals prove to be either saints or rogues. By virtue of isolation they gain greater chances of self-mastery or recklessness, of risks or achievements.¹ But whether saints or rogues, they agree in one point, namely, that they protest against the existing order of things and indicate that the present system is imperfect, or, at any rate, capable of improvements. By their actions and protestations they try to point out the defects of the system, to demolish it or to build a new edifice from the very ground.

All these create trying situations for the individuals. Those few individuals who can properly handle, watch or utilise them come to be recognised as Bodhisas or Wise Men. While these situations cause puzzlement to others, the Bodhisats find in them opportunities for the manifestation of their greatness as setters of personal examples, or as moralisers, or as diviners of various means of escape. As teachers, leaders or observers, they surpass others and develop the qualities that go to make up their personality. The advent of some such wise man or the manifestation of some such wisdom takes place or is possible in one and all of the situations that arise in the whole of life.

Thus one gets the basis for generalisation and classification of the situations in life and no less of the virtues to be developed in them. The Buddhist Jātakas are just meant to serve as typical illustrations of the actual and possible situations in life and of the virtues that can be developed, the situations that a man has got to face as a king, as a councillor, as a saint, as a chaplain, as a teacher, as a pupil, as a trader, as a husbandman, and so on and so forth. The virtues are those that constitute the sine qua non of human aspirations and greatness.

The Jātakas, apart from being the results of a methodical survey of the entire realm of life and of the whole of nature as commonly cognised, form so many incidents in the life of one individual and represent a full scheme of biography. The history of the universe can be viewed in the light of manifestations and attainments of a single life, and told in the term of one evolving individual.

¹ Scenes Nos. 49, 98, 99, 105, 106, 111, 113, 117, 124, 129, 134, 135.

This history kept within the bounds of nature as commonly known and within the limits of time-honoured tradition reveals a process of advancement from darkness to light, from sleep to awakening, from unconsciousness to consciousness, from dumbness to self-expression, from hunger and thirst to abundance and from contest to enjoyment. The Buddhist biography begins just when an individual becomes conscious enough to feel that he is destined to do something great in the world at large. Forthwith he forms a resolution to do or die, to fulfil the ends of his life at all costs. This is his *praṇidhāna* or resolution directing his will into a definite channel. He does not stop short there but proceeds to action (*chariyā*), plunging himself into struggles. As he proceeds and advances, overcoming difficulties one after another, he secures encouragement and backing from some high personages who are far above the common level, and finds himself transported into a better family connecting him with the forefathers creating the nobler tradition. In this manner he maintains his activity and hopes in the midst of obstacles and doubts and diffidence. Thus begins and proceeds onward the Bodhisattva career of an individual at a certain point or in a certain stage of natural evolution, where the universal history gravitates towards or merges in a continuous biography. It culminates in Buddhahood at a certain point or in a certain stage of conscious evolution of the individual, where his mind, freed from all fetters and shackles and ordinary interests of life, sees or feels the whole of reality by intuition, and proceeds to generate a process of thought with its impressions and concepts and causal mode, and stops where it discovers the eternal point touching all circles of thought and acquires the power of imagination creating infinite forms far beyond the actuality and possibility of nature as commonly known.

The elephant on the coping from whose mouth issues forth the creeper with its serpentine course symbolises the firmness of the will with which the individual, becoming a Bodhisattva, forms the resolution, while the creeper itself represents the career of the individual as a Bodhisattva. The coily folds of the creeper yield the panels filled alternately with the Jātaka-scenes and fruit or ornamental groupings. The Jātaka-scenes represent the particular effort made, and the grouping the particular fruition obtained. But never in experience the same effort is made, nor is the same fruition obtained. Each effort or fruition, considered per se, is unique. In a comparative view the efforts or fruitions appear as so many 'similars', neither the same nor the other (*na cha saḥ na cha anyañ*). Each fold represents an undulation in the sea, a pulsation of life and an intuition of mind, all of which are realised in

a single moment of consciousness. Intuition reveals the eternal present, memory recollects the past links, while imagination creates the future steps. In the Śaiva or panoramic view, the undulations show the rise and disappearance of forms of waves ; in the Buddhist or straight view, the undulations present the procession of forms. Without birth and death, of which men are so much afraid, one cannot conceive this procession, and without them the life of the individual has no meaning at all. The notions of birth and death arise in the mind when its attention is concentrated upon the single form, isolated from the rest. The reality that flashes at every moment of intuition is an eternal present. The Buddhist artist feels sorry that he has got to represent time in the term of space, the eternal present in terms of a past, a present and a future.

If the procession of forms be the law, the question arises—what forms might possibly follow from the life and activity of the Buddha after his demise. According to the answers suggested, the forms might evolve bringing about great changes in the character of educational institutions, in the interpretation of the order of nature, in the imagination of the future of the world and in drawing the schemes of thought and of life. The Pāli Canonical book *Apadāna* gives a poetical description of the new educational institutions, represented as schools of eternal enquiry, situated in the midst of an ideal atmosphere of nature and art, where every one is a teacher and every one a pupil. The decorative devices in Barhut medallions and flower compositions. represent the order of nature according to the changed interpretation.

In one of the full medallions, a peacock majestically stands, raising its tail erect and displaying a glorious wealth of its plumage, while two other peacocks approaching from two sides, remain touching its feet with their beaks. In another, one sees the prosperity of a Dragon-chief who remains seated with a four-headed cobra hood upon his turban and attended on two sides by two handsome mermaids. In a third a crocodile appears in a lotus-tank with its head lifted above water, and remains eager to catch sight of light, forgetting to take its food. In a fourth, the bees are seen sucking honey in lotus flowers without doing harm to them, while a human devotee remains seated with joined hands. In some of the full and half medallions the lions, the elephants, the tortoises or the like are circumambulating a lotus-design without trenching upon one another. In some of the lotus medallions, one sees the figures of the sun-gods, in some the chariots of the sun drawn by the winged lions¹ or antilopes, in some the moon-deities holding mirrors, in some the stars, and in some the push of life out of a lotus-pot. In some of the flower compositions on the bevelled edges, one sees the monkeys holding the bunches

of fruits in their embrace, in some the squirrels nibbling at the fruits, in some the parrots demonstrating the bounties of nature. In some of these compositions the male and female worshippers can be seen plucking flowers or fruits for making offerings. The lotus represents the sun, the human heart and the beautiful product of nature. Nature suggests a line of evolution in which it becomes possible for the different forms of life to gather food without doing injury. Nature presents a joyous scene in which the victims and victimisers remain side by side, with their eyes turned towards the glory above. There is throughout jollity and joviality in the midst of innocence. Art creates an eternal joyous situation in which all the luminaries, all the elemental forces, all kinds of life and all classes of beings participate, and lend their forms to it. It is suggested that all conflicts of thoughts and all clashes of interests can be removed and made significant by means of schemes allowing the fullest scope for self-expression and free enjoyment. No scheme is perfect which leaves out any interest, no thought is perfect which ignores any standpoint, and no institution is perfect which cannot postulate elevation, and not depravity, as the real trend of nature as a whole.



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